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Commission on Violence
THE RHETORIC OF EVASION
RICHARD DRINNON

By Road & Rail
Explosions en Route
SANDY MORRISON

Japan 1970
Year of Upheaval
JEFFREY P. FREED

San Francisco Police
Black vs. White in the Station House
ROBERT A. JONES

Frank J. Donner / The Trial of Dr. Spock
C. P. FitzGerald / China and Vietnam

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LETTERS

democracy in Greece

New York City

DEAR SIRS: In the last two years you have published a number of fine articles and editorials about Greece, and this is something that few American publications have done. An example is the article "Greece: A Chance for Democracy" by W. G. Forrest, as well as your editorial "NATO's Missing Link" [both Sept. 22].

Allow me, however, to observe that the editorial considers Greece a "missing link," because of the purges that took place in the armed forces. It seems to me that the morale of the people is also of importance. I don't think that the average soldier would fight only to preserve the junta, even if the officers had not been purged.

Mr. Forrest's article, despite its many valid points, makes some astonishing statements. He says . . . that Greece had been all this time poor and underdeveloped. This is not so. In the 1860s industrialization had advanced quite a bit, but then retrogressed with the policies of the Danish King George I and the spreading of colonialist policies of the big Western powers throughout the Balkans, the Near East and Africa.

A most serious error is that there was no democracy in Greece before the Metaxas dictatorship (1936) or that of Papadopoulos (1967). True, there was an imperfect democracy, which needed profound reforms. But . . . the truth of the matter is that in the 140 years of Greece's independence the country has enjoyed *more* parliamentary democracy than most countries of Europe, including such countries as France, Germany, Italy, to say nothing of Eastern Europe and the Middle East.

Also, I found galling the completely unfounded allegation that Greek politicians were corrupt. After two and a half years of monotonous repetition of charges of corruption by the junta, no scandals have been uncovered, even against the most ardent opponents of the military. Where is the corruption?

Spyridon Granitsas

bon voyage

Pacific Grove, Calif.

DEAR SIRS: Agonizing over Vietnam, Nixon, the military-industrial complex, racism, and all such matters, is irrelevant and academic. The fact is that the basic ecosystems and biological cycles of this planet have already been irremediably distorted and poisoned, and that within some twenty to forty years only a few tough human mutants will be around.

The atmosphere is dying, losing its oxygen; the waters are already so full of pesticides that the organisms at the top of the food chain are vanishing; the earth is pervaded with radioactive wastes and CBW discards. In short, we've had it, so let's enjoy the time that's left. When you book passage on the *Titanic*, why go steerage?

Arthur Porges

Reagan's razor

Sacramento, Calif.

DEAR SIRS: While I disagree with several points made by Ross Y. Koen in "Higher Learning in California: The Education of Ronald Reagan" [*The Nation*, Sept. 29], on the whole I found it to be a well-documented study of the Governor's manipulation of California higher education for his political benefit.

I think it is important to remember that the Governor's

(Continued on page 381)

EDITORIALS

The Wrong Place To Cut

"What a Bedlamite is man," Thomas Jefferson sighed. Intensely research-minded though he was, long before the term acquired its modern meaning, what would he say if he could see funds for biological and medical research being slashed while billions are poured into weapons of mass destruction? Happily, total insanity in politics is almost as rare as total sanity, and Rep. Richard D. McCarthy has injected his customary note of reason by publishing in the *Congressional Record* (September 16) some of the protests against the 20 per cent cuts in biological and medical research grants proposed by the National Institutes of Health (NIH).

The protests have not been muted. On September 9, the American Chemical Society and the New York Academy of Sciences held meetings to bring this threat to research in the life sciences and medical technology to public attention. Dr. Philip Handler, the new president of the National Academy of Sciences and himself a biologist, said at the ACS meeting that the proposed cuts would bring "panic" to many research institutes. He warned that denying funds to young scientists and doctors is "selling our future short." Dr. Handler is not one to cry without reason. He was supported by Dr. George Wald, who received the Nobel Prize for his work in the chemistry of vision. Dr. Wald reiterated his appeals to scientists to cease working on "the technology of death and destruction" and the Pentagon's "chemical chamber of horrors"—napalm, chemical and biological weapons, defoliants and herbicides. According to *The Washington Post* (September 11), most of the predominantly middle-aged audience rose and applauded him wildly.

At the New York Academy of Sciences meeting, Dr. Albert Szent-Györgyi, who received the Nobel Prize in medicine for his discovery of Vitamin C, likewise blamed huge military spending and military control over the economy for the plight of basic research, not only in the life sciences and medicine but in the physical sciences generally. A physician and the director of the Institute for Muscle Research at Woods Hole, Mass., Szent-Györgyi would like to do cancer research. Since the research cuts have been put into effect the NIH no longer supports his project, but National Science Foundation grants enable him, as he puts it, to work with his two hands. Unfortunately, that is not how cancer research is done, and Szent-Györgyi must regretfully refuse the applications of young scientists who want to work with him and who might turn up something significant. Obviously, barring the way to young men and women who wish to start careers in the physical, biological or medical fields is ruinous. There are signs, in fact, that the United States is slipping from its leading position in the life sciences and will continue to lose ground as long as it gives priority to killing rather than healing.

A parallel piece of folly is the reported intention of the National Cancer Institute to kill 380 monkeys be-

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cause of a shortage of funds. These are not ordinary laboratory animals. Five years ago, in infancy, they were inoculated with tissue from human cancers suspected of being caused by viruses. They are now to be killed before the results of the experiment can be known. Since it costs $3 a day to support one of these animals, more than $2 million has already been invested. But then, who gets what in budget allocation depends more on interest-group pressures than on good sense, and the most powerful pressure group is the military-industrial complex.

In the case of the grants for young scientists, the protests appear to be having some effect. *Science* (September 19) reports that NIH has reduced its projected cuts from the 20 to the 5 to 10 per cent range. This is contingent, however, and the entire situation is in flux. The partial restoration (which is by no means assured) has been made possible by the Nixon Administration's decision to treat the Medicare and Medicaid programs separately, thus relieving some of the pressure on research appropriations. Inflation, caused in large part by military spending, is also a factor; it is blamed specifically for the proposed closing of nineteen of the ninety-three clinical research centers—miniature hospitals affiliated with medical schools and research-oriented hospitals, and financed by NIH. Whatever its form, the budgetary pressure on both current and future medical study comes from the continued drain by military hardware, research and manpower. Unless the misnamed "defense" budget can be drastically reduced, funding of medical and biological research will remain precarious.

Willy Brandt Looks Ahead

Bonn

In the sixth national election since the West German Federal Republic was founded twenty years ago, Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) won a narrow victory of 46.1 per cent over the 42.7 of Foreign Minister Willy Brandt's Social Democrats (SPD). But as of this writing, Mr. Brandt appears to be negotiating a successful alliance with the small Free Democratic Party (FDP), the battered remnant of the old Liberal Party, whose 5.8 per cent of the votes would give the coalition control of the Bundestag, permit the Foreign Minister to form a government and throw the Christian Democrats into the opposition for the first time since 1949, when Konrad Adenauer led them to victory and what has come to look like permanent rule.

Close to 87 per cent of the 38.6 million registered voters turned out at the polls on September 28—a figure that must break the record for Western Europe—and the election was satisfactory in other ways. Most conspicuously, Adolf von Thadden's ultra-rightist National Democratic Party drew only 4.3 per cent of the votes and will be banished from Parliament under a rule that excludes any party falling below 5 per cent. The National Democrats remain a provincial aberration. Further, if Brandt manages to form a government, it will attempt to thaw out the Central European political glacier. This implies no radical change in West German policy, and believers in coexistence should not become overexcited by the prospect.

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Brandt and his presumptive Foreign Minister, Free Democratic Party leader Walter Scheel, differ from the CDU only in the warmth with which they approach the subject. All three parties remain throttled by the Adenauer principle that only a general European peace treaty can solve the border, refugee and restitution problems. It takes two to make a bargain, and at present the Communist approach is to skirt the issue of a peace treaty and press for some umbrella formula of accord based on its proposed European Security Conference.

Leaving aside such foreign-policy imponderables, the poll tabulations make interesting reading for the future of West Germany. For the first time, the SPD broke through the magic 40 per cent barrier, the party registering gains almost everywhere except in a few strongly Catholic-Conservative areas of lower Bavaria. Significantly, its gains came less from its traditional working-class base than from segments where the party has not previously been particularly successful. They include both Catholic and middle-class voter groups, and early analyses indicate that the swing in these key blocs was at the expense of the CDU. Kiesinger's party did well in Protestant areas, picking up from the FDP (whose percentage dropped from 9.5 to the perilously narrow 5.8, which is nevertheless now so important to Willy Brandt) enough votes to compensate for the inroads made by the SPD. Overall, the elections showed a continuing trend toward a two-party system.

German voters receive two ballots: on one they vote directly for candidates to the Bundestag; on the other they pick a party slate, by states, and Bundestag seats are then allotted to the contending parties by proportional representation. For the first time, the SPD won more direct mandates than did the CDU and its Bavarian sister party, the Christian Democrats. This should encourage advocates of electoral reform in the SPD who, like members of the CDU, would prefer direct Parliamentary election.

The gains of the SPD are the fruit of the party's struggle for respectability. Ten years ago, it formally abandoned Marxism and set out to win the support of the bourgeoisie. In 1966, it entered a governing coalition with the CDU, and has since shown its ability on the ministerial level. The CDU, on the other hand, conducted an unenterprising campaign, confirming popular feeling that after twenty years in office it had gone stale and had nothing new or progressive to offer. Kiesinger, clinging hard to Adenauer's mantle, harped on cold-war problems. It was probably a mistake: like the menace of Red China, the cold war has become a bore to the public, which in any case knows itself helpless to deal with confrontations at the atomic level of the superpowers.

JOE ALEX MORRIS, JR.

Ramming Through the SST

No one with the slightest knowledge of the aerospace branch of the military-industrial complex, and of President Nixon's basic economic stance, could have doubted that he would approve further development of the supersonic transport. His attitude toward opponents of the SST is essentially the same as his attitude toward critics of the Vietnamese War. To the latter he said bluntly that under no circumstances whatever would he be affected by their opposition. Toward the SST critics he is less arrogant, but their arguments might as well be voiced in a vacuum. As one headline puts it, the "controversial project moves inexorably ahead."

Whence comes this foreordination? The Russian TU-144 and the British-French Concorde have already made test flights, the latter, briefly, at supersonic speeds. Thus, if only for reasons of prestige, we must have a bigger and faster SST—the only meaningful question, according to the President, being whether "the people of the world will be flying in American supersonic transports or in the transports of other nations." But if the SST is a commercially sound venture, then why does the aerospace industry refuse to contribute more than 10 per cent of the development cost, forcing the taxpayers to risk billions on a dubious venture?

The truth is that in the Presidency Mr. Nixon is what he has always been—the guardian of the profits of big business. Boeing's prosperity takes precedence over mass transport on the ground, medical research, and all the other unfilled needs with which the country is plagued. The National Institutes of Health closes down clinical research centers that would cost $6.5 million a year, while $1.2 billion in government funds has already been disbursed or committed for the SST, with no one able to forecast the ultimate cost.

Finally, if the priorities are to be limited to aviation, would it not make more sense to put larger amounts into airport radar, anti-collision devices, rapid transit facilities between cities and airports (which will also serve local public transportation needs) and similar necessities, rather than into aircraft that have only special-interest appeal, and much of that specious?

The Conspiracy in Chicago

The real conspiracy in Chicago is not the one with which the government has charged the eight defendants, but its own action in securing their indictment. The decision of Attorney General John Mitchell to seek the indictments (his predecessor, Ramsey Clark, had no enthusiasm for the project) might be regarded as the "overt" act. The intent of the government's "conspiracy" was to discourage opposition to the war in Vietnam. A glance at the backgrounds of the defendants makes evident the intention to indict persons who represent principal elements of the anti-war movement: David Dellinger (old Left, pacifist); Rennie Davis (New Left); Tom Hayden (radical-revolutionary); Bobby Seale (Black Panthers); Abbie Hoffman (hippies); Jerry Rubin (Yippies); John R. Froines, assistant professor of chemistry at the University of Oregon, and Lee Weiner, doctoral candidate in sociology at Northwestern University (campus intellectuals).

Despite the clear motive of the prosecution, the public at first showed little interest in the trial. In fact, only a day or so before Judge Julius Hoffman ordered the summary arrest of four young defense lawyers, Rennie Davis had complained that demonstrations in aid of the defense

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had been disappointing. "We somehow have to tell the country what this trial is about so that people will know." He need worry no longer; Judge Hoffman's bizarre conduct on the bench has made obvious what the prosecution is about.

Three of the four young lawyers had been retained for the limited purpose of preparing pretrial motions—a practice not uncommon in political trials. The fourth was originally supposed to be a member of the trial team, but withdrew to work on the defense of twenty-one Black Panthers in New York. Judge Hoffman tried to justify the arrests on the ground that the four had no right to withdraw by telegram. But they were not in Chicago—they live elsewhere—and they had the permission of their clients to withdraw. More to the point, Judge Hoffman tried to use their arrests as a way to force the defendants to proceed without their chief trial counsel, Charles Garry, who was about to undergo a gall bladder operation in San Francisco. Judge Hoffman denies that he made the dropping of charges against the four lawyers conditional on the defendants' assertion that they were content to go to trial with the counsel immediately available, but his intention is evident from the record. When he realized that his action had aroused a storm of protest —from thirteen members of the faculty of the Harvard Law School, from civil liberties organizations, and from a group of 150 lawyers resident in all parts of the country, who hurried to Chicago to express their sense of outrage—he vacated the contempt proceedings.

By then the damage had been done and he should have declared a mistrial. Now this unhappy prosecution, which should never have been initiated, will drag on for months; but it will probably have the effect of breathing new life into the anti-war movement which it was supposed to arrest. Judge Hoffman will see to that.

Operation Showboat

During the 1968 campaign, Richard M. Nixon referred scathingly to President Johnson's habit of making a big splurge with one innovation after another—"showboating" Mr. Nixon called it. He had a case, but now his Administration is engaging in the same practice, only splashier. Mr. Johnson's ingenuity never hit on anything as foolish, or as violative of good order and the rights of law-abiding citizens, as the current federal drive to prevent the import of marijuana from Mexico. Nothing like it has been seen since Prohibition; actually, in some respects, this saturnalia in the guise of law enforcement is more invasive of common decency than anything Prohibition ever spawned.

Billed as "the biggest smuggling crackdown in history," "Operation Intercept" is the result of seven months of planning by Attorney General Mitchell and his deputy, Richard Kleindienst. It involves a veritable mobilization of federal agencies and the use of aircraft (both fixed-wing and helicopter), patrol boats, radar, esoteric instruments such as people-sniffers and marijuana-sniffers and, above all, the full weight of the government's publicity apparatus. It began on September 21 with a media-shaking bang, and is proceeding crash by crash; it takes no prescience to forecast that it will end with a whimper.

The locations where the drive is most arrogant in the application of federal power are at the border crossings between Mexico and the United States. Normally, at the sixteen customs gates between Tijuana, Mexico, and San Ysidro, Calif., below San Diego, the border guards pass the cars through with a glance at the occupants and a wave of the hand. On September 21, a Sunday, the crackdown began at 2:30 in the afternoon, just before the peak of Sunday shoppers, weekend tourists and bullfight and Caliente race track crowds began re-entering the United States. All cars were halted for a search of the interior, the engine compartment, trunk and, with the aid of long-handled mirrors, the underside of the chassis. On a hit-or-miss basis, or for reasons known only to the men who manned the gates, many cars were shunted aside for more intensive searches of up to half an hour. Very soon, cars were backed up into the Tijuana streets and then for 3.5 miles to the race track. Delays of four hours and more were reported. Women's handbags and children's lunch boxes, teddy bears and the like were searched. Some women were required to unbutton blouses; men were forced to take off jackets and vests and loosen clothing.

The temperature was very high and cars began to overheat. Many had to be pushed through the gates for tow-car service on the American side. Tempers grew short and there were fist fights among drivers. At intervals, hundreds of drivers blew their horns in concerted indignation. These scenes, duplicated at other major border crossings, disrupted normal intercourse between adjacent towns in the United States and Mexico. There were outcries from chambers of commerce, shopkeepers and hotel men, and one diplomatic incident when the Mexican consul general in El Paso was pulled from his car and "violently" searched. The Mexican Embassy sent a note of protest.

The fruits of this operation, in the form of drugs seized, were unimpressive, but the discovery of such contraband was not the main purpose. The objective, according to Mr. Kleindienst, is to deter smugglers, so that the price of marijuana will rise and an estimated 30 million young Americans will be obliged to forsake the weed for lack of funds. At least the more impecunious of them will undergo a money cure. Some, of course, may turn to heroin or other addictive, dangerous drugs. If the price of heroin is also jacked up, the addicts will have to steal more to get their daily fix. (The notion that drug addicts mug and rob people appears to be fallacious; mostly they steal, because they are too uncoordinated for crimes of violence.) It is more likely, according to Southern California authorities, that African hashish, cheaper and more potent than Mexican marijuana, will take over most of the market.

The Nixon Administration's primary motive in these theatricals appears to be to put on a big splurge for the edification of lovers of law and order, those who detest college students, and that far from inconsiderable number whose political attitudes are largely determined by fears and hostilities. The Administration, up to its ears in problems which are insoluble by its quack techniques, is ever on the lookout for diversionary melodrama. From

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this viewpoint, Operation Intercept is a beauty. Actually, it is aimed less at the smugglers than at the Mexican authorities, who are to be blackmailed into getting tough with marijuana growers and dealers on their side of the border. The probable degree of success may be gauged from the history of Prohibition.

The most absurd part of the whole performance is that there is no authoritative information on the harmfulness of marijuana, or on what measures may be justified to curb its use. Rep. Edward I. Koch has introduced a bill, H.R. 10019, closely paralleling Sen. Frank E. Moss's S.2590, to establish a Presidential Commission on Marijuana. The purpose would be to conduct a multi-disciplinary, authoritative study of the legal, social and medical ramifications of marijuana use and to provide a basis for intelligent discussion and legislative action. Often the appointment of a commission adds little to public enlightenment, but in this case confusion is so widespread, and the opportunities for political charlatanry so great, that such a step seems eminently desirable.

The Green Beret Scandal

When Mendel Rivers announced in the House of Representatives that the Army's murder case against eight men of the Special Forces (Green Berets) had been dropped, some members rose and cheered. They might better have wept. No doubt the damage to the Army, the Green Berets and the Central Intelligence Agency was less than if military justice had been allowed to take its course, but all three came out with grievous injury to their reputations, already considerably debased by the inherent vice of the Vietnamese War.

The Green Berets' image has been tarnished, although the returning officers will no doubt be greeted as heroes in John Wayne quarters. However irrelevant considerations of morality in war may be in the eyes of the Green Beret officer corps and many civilians, some Americans retain the quaint notion that there is a difference between killing in combat and in gangster fashion. Indeed, Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor, in announcing the conclusion of the proceedings, reiterated that "the acts which were charged, but not proved, represent a fundamental violation of Army regulations, orders and principles." His wording could be construed as implying that such violations had in fact occurred but that the manner and circumstances precluded a successful prosecution.

In the issue of September 8 *The Nation* said editorially that it was most unlikely that any of the Green Berets would be court-martialed or, if tried, that they could be convicted. The crucial question was why, assuming they were guilty as charged, they should be punished for the murder of an obscure South Vietnamese alleged to be a double agent. Why this sudden squeamishness? To be sure, a case could be made out against the accused on the basis of the Nuremberg principle of individual responsibility, but in organizations like the Green Berets this is hardly more applicable than it was in the Nazi SS.

The background for the scandal seems to be that the CIA, the Green Berets and the Army headquarters in Vietnam have been at one another's throats. Once the charge of murder was in the open, the CIA even took the unprecedented step of trying to exculpate itself by holding a press conference at which it presented its side of the story, naturally on a no-ascription basis. Accusations and counter-accusations flew all over the place, presenting a picture of the participants which belied the traditional patriotic portrait of the military as honest, disciplined guardians of the national security.

As just one sidelight, William Beecher wrote in *The New York Times* (September 28) that on June 21 Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, commander of all American forces in Vietnam, was in touch with Col. Robert B. Rheault, commander of the Green Berets in the area where the alleged double agent disappeared. The General asked for a status report on the case and reportedly was told that the man was on a dangerous mission, when supposedly he had been killed the day previously. Beecher continues, "Why he [Colonel Rheault] said that remains a mystery to this day." Still without the protective "it is alleged," "it is said," etc., Beecher writes that Sgt. Alvin L. Smith, Jr., told his story of the killing to the CIA a few days later (in other accounts Smith is said to have been in fear of his life at the hands of his comrades in the Green Berets) "causing, among other things, General Abrams to become furious at being lied to and to order a no-holds-barred investigation."

The lawyers for the accused then proceeded to try the case in the newspapers and in Congress, and the scandal mounted. After first denying, for two days, that the President had approved the decision of the director of the CIA not to permit its personnel to testify—because of "national security" of course—the White House finally admitted that Mr. Nixon had endorsed, if indeed he had not ordered, the CIA refusal. The affair thus takes its place as an inglorious episode in an inglorious war.

Prop for the Warfare State

It is evident from the President's proposals to Congress that he has no intention of correcting the two basic evils of the draft system. The lottery and the induction of 19-year-olds first would isolate those affected by the draft, and Mr. Nixon hopes this would reduce dissent. But men will continue to kill and die against their wills in a war they despise, and Congress will still be unable to control manpower levels. Until Congress regains the purse and until the draft is ended, there will be no progress toward restoring the powers of war and peace to the people.

Unfortunately many liberals have been taken in by the attempt to make a thoroughly unjust system more efficient. Senators Kennedy and Javits have offered the Congress similar bills, which assume that it is somehow fairer to take first those who cannot even vote. Why not follow Dr. Ralph Abernathy's suggestion that the 65-year-old decision makers lead the parade? Those who urge the reforms often infer that some kind of draft should be maintained in order to keep anti-war pressure high and avoid a professional army. They overlook the fact that the draft may have angered thousands of middle-class parents, but it has effectively militarized millions of young conscripts and their families, both by propaganda in

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training and by the old reaction of vested interest. It is expressed as, "We cannot have served (died) in vain," or "If *I* had to go, then everyone must go."

Outright repeal of the draft is now necessary because of the seriousness of our present crisis. Few liberals are able to face the fact that the problems causing dissent are so deep that only two solutions seem likely. Either we will retain compulsion in institutions like the draft, go on feeding an economy which, despite patchwork poverty programs, enriches the rich and penalizes the poor—and then arm to the teeth for a final blood bath—or we will recognise the decay of the nation-state, end compulsion, lower military commitment, put heavy controls on the military and the bureaucracy, increase citizen participation, redistribute wealth, and prepare for a shift to new political institutions of supranational and subnational forms. The draft is a basic prop for the illegitimate warfare state. To reform it or temporarily suspend it will only prolong its negative effect on our whole society.

The war and the draft are rightly at the center of an unparalleled protest movement that shakes our nation.

Political Amnesia

A neglected aspect of the American electorate's penchant for "instant remedies"—and its disdain of remedies that do not work miracles on the second—is its chronic forgetfulness. What it once knew, it soon forgets. Consider, for example, the current spate of criticism about the extraordinary confusion over intelligence operations in Vietnam, which no doubt reflects a similar confusion in other areas. A survey made by *The New York Times* (October 1) yielded "a general picture of an elaborate, often inefficient intelligence community." What has been forgotten is that the Central Intelligence Agency was set up in the first instance as the sovereign remedy for precisely the condition that by all accounts continues to exist and may actually have become worse since the CIA was established. And what happened to those numerous pronouncements that, at long last, the super-spy agency would be closely and thoroughly supervised by Congress? Actually the "forgetfulness factor" should not be charged directly or solely to the electorate; it reflects a failure of political leadership. No one in Congress has raised the issue that the CIA has failed to end confusion, duplication and conflict in the nation's intelligence community. Cloaked in mystery, a law unto itself, America's super-dagger agency has failed in its basic job.

That Memorial

The dead have no need of memorials; like funerals, memorials are for the living. A memorial reminds us that greatness implicit in human nature has become explicit in an individual, and so affects the lives of millions. Martin Luther King was an individual of this rare and indispensable type; a memorial to him is fitting and indeed necessary, unless it has become true that man lives by bread alone.

But apparently the Nixon Administration does not see it that way. At first, Mr. Nixon was enthusiastic about Coretta King's idea of creating a Freedom Memorial Park in the downtown Atlanta area that contains Dr. King's birthplace, his grave, and the Ebenezer Baptist Church where he preached. It would have been odd if Mr. Nixon had not responded warmly, for the proposed memorial offered him an opportunity to make a start, at least, toward overcoming the distrust in which, as he has admitted, the majority of Negroes hold him. He was so taken with the idea that he sent Robert H. Finch, his Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, to see Mrs. King. It is safe to assume that Mr. Finch was genuinely in favor of the project, then and later.

But it all came to naught. Leonard Garment, designated by Mr. Nixon to negotiate with the memorial foundation, turned out to be, if not the "killer of the dream," at least the conveyor of the bad news. The foundation wanted White House sponsorship of a bill to provide for acquisition of a site and construction of a building. On August 1 Mr. Garment wrote that the President was not prepared to support such legislation. Coupled with this turn-down there was a vague offer of help if the foundation sought private money.

By now Mr. Nixon's "Southern strategy" for 1970 and 1972 has become well defined. John N. Mitchell, his 1968 campaign manager, now Attorney General and the strong man of the Administration, is reportedly prepared to write off Negroes, Jews and Establishment liberals—in fact, the entire Northeast, if necessary—and concentrate on the South, West and Midwest for votes. And it is easy to see that white Southern votes are not going to be garnered with a King memorial in Atlanta.

Interviewed by Henry Raymont of *The New York Times*, Mr. Garment said that the memorial proposal posed a number of technical, legal and financial problems. Asked if political problems were not also involved, he replied, "Well, they're all sort of tied together."

It is a waste of time to discuss any Nixon action or inaction except in political terms; all else is irrelevant. Evidently Mr. Nixon weighed the alternatives and decided he had more to lose than to gain. The King memorial proposal will proceed, but it is revealing that even in a matter of this sort Mr. Nixon put politics first.

A Lack of Fitness

Judge Haynsworth has now "run the gantlet" (editorial of September 1) and, thanks largely to Senators Bayh and Hart, his nomination has received the close scrutiny it deserved. Disclosures at the hearings make it clear that, judging from his actions on and off the bench, Judge Haynsworth does not measure up to the standards of excellence and distinction which the Senate and the people have a right to expect of nominees to the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court is not just another court; it is the nation's highest tribunal. That a nominee may have served for a decade or more on an intermediate federal court without provoking much in the way of audible protest does not mean he is qualified to serve on the Supreme Court. Whatever may be said about—and for—Judge Haynsworth, it is now evident that he is not of Supreme Court caliber.

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SAN FRANCISCO POLICE

Black vs. White in the Station House

ROBERT A. JONES
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San Francisco

This summer at a meeting of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, the head of the city's Police Officers Association (POA) silently handed a booklet to each supervisor. It was titled *The Black Book*. In its introduction Jake W. Ehrlich, chief counsel for the POA, charged that a rival black association, the Officers for Justice (OFJ), was racist and contributing to the "destruction of law and order." The 18 pages of "documentation" in the booklet would prove his charge, Ehrlich said.

The occasion for *The Black Book* was a referendum which the OFJ had submitted to the Board of Supervisors, and which the board had placed on the fall ballot. If approved it will grant time and a half for overtime and a night differential to all policemen and firemen, elevate the Police Community Relations Unit (PCR) to a bureau (on an organizational par with, say, Missing Persons or Homicide), promote the head of the new bureau to a director of the department, and reform promotion procedures.

The referendum thus would increase the wages of every policeman and fireman in the city (who are already the highest paid in the nation), while at the same time it strengthened the department's efforts to reach the disenfranchised. The final two sections of the referendum—the elevation of the PCR and the restructuring of police promotions—have been tried and found successful in other large cities.

Yet, several days after the referendum was put on the ballot, Ehrlich announced the POA's "unalterable opposition." The proposal, he said, was a "political hoax" and would cost the city too much money. Neither charge makes sense. The intent of the referendum is direct and simple; there is little room for hoax. And though the proposal would certainly cost the city money, the supervisors unanimously agreed that it would be well spent, as a boost to both a new recruiting drive and to the morale of the existing force. On the surface, the POA's opposition makes as much sense as if Walter Reuther were to fight a pay hike at General Motors.

However, fitted into the racism of the San Francisco Police Department, and especially of the POA leadership, it makes too much sense. Of all the nascent black police officer associations across the country, San Francisco's Officers for Justice is probably the most militant and certainly the most political. By sponsoring the referendum, the OFJ has made a play for a wide base of support and, simultaneously, caught the POA with its apathy showing. Even though similar proposals had been suggested by civic leaders, the POA never bothered to submit a referendum addressed to the critical needs of the next few years. So the Officers for Justice stole the initiative. The leaders of the older, white association reacted as expected, even though by doing so they worked against the welfare of every policeman on the force. When asked what the OFJ planned to do with the POA's refusal to support the referendum, one of the black leaders said simply, "We're going to make fools of them."

The Officers for Justice was organized in early 1969 after a group of black officers, charged with an off-duty offense, was refused legal aid by the POA. The POA claimed it did not have the authority to defend off-duty charges. Yet several months later it threw its influence, and the services of Ehrlich himself, behind Michael O'Brien, a white policeman who was accused of having shot and killed a black man while off duty. O'Brien was acquitted.

By the end of O'Brien's trial, the OFJ was functioning. The nucleus of the association was a group in the Community Relations Unit that had worked for years—sometimes openly and sometimes covertly—against the POA. In January 1969, after Mayor Joseph Alioto's Tactical Squad had clubbed and arrested hundreds at San Francisco State College over a three-month period, three members of the OFJ held a press conference on the campus. Advising students and faculty to carry cameras and note pads to document any questionable police behavior, they promised to bring such information before the complaint department of the police and the Community Relations Unit. One officer announced: "We deplore the carnival glee of police departments within a hundred miles of San Francisco who now beg to have their policemen permitted to get 'riot training' experience on the heads of SF State students."

The reaction was prompt. Word drifted down from the Mayor's office that two of the most outspoken officers at the press conference—Palmer Jackson and Richard Hongisto—were to be transferred out of the PCR on the charge of "un-officerlike conduct." "So I picked up the phone," Hongisto remembers, "and called the Mayor's office and let them know that they were fools if they thought the Mayor and the POA could rip us out just like they would have fifteen years ago."

Instead of retreating into a defense of their first press conference, the group attacked. Jackson explained: "We knew that our strength was in the community, not in the police department. So we didn't play politics with Alioto and the POA. We went to the people." The next OFJ statement read: "It was inevitable that the Police Officers Association would pressure Alioto to move against Jackson and Hongisto. Most of the recent prosecution of white San Francisco cops for maiming and killing citizens has come out of the efforts of the Community Relations Unit. Both Jackson and Hongisto, along with others, have spent off-duty hours helping to gather evidence against cops who have 'abused the badge and the gun.'"

For several weeks the OFJ kept it up. They released

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figures showing that only 4.5 per cent of the Police Department was black (the figure still holds), and that of those, three were assistant inspectors (detectives), one a sergeant, and none was higher.

"In silence, gentlemen, in silence, we have carried the double burden of Black officers and Black men," another statement read. "What redress do we have when confronted with the spectacle of Black brothers and sisters being mistreated? The days of fronting the grinning darky to appease the Black community are dead."

A few days later, Jackson and Hongisto learned that the charges had been dropped.

But as Rodney Williams, head of the Community Relations Unit and a member of the OFJ, pointed out, racism is not the only issue the OFJ faces. "Remember, the name of the organization is the Officers for Justice, not the Afro-American Police Officers Association or something like that. More than anything, we want a police department that is honest, professional and compassionate."

Because of the OFJ's emphasis on professionalism, the POA has become an increasingly vulnerable target. The stagnation—if not the incompetence—of Harry Bell and John Lahane, leaders of the POA, is plain to all young officers, whether black or white. Elective positions within the police association are almost always filled as the result of friendship cliques that take many years to develop, and the leaders have seen to it that police promotions lean heavily toward senior members of the force.

The present weight given seniority on promotion examinations is three times that recommended by most police authorities, notably by O. W. Wilson, dean of the University of California's School of Criminology, in his *Municipal Police Administration*. Young whites, as well as blacks, are excluded from advancement commensurate with their ability, and the police administration is filled with veterans whose police mentality was formed in the 1940s.

But perhaps nothing makes cynics of young officers more quickly than the equanimity with which police crime is regarded by the POA. A young white officer, discussing with me the seniority system, casually added: "And, of course, it was a long time before the old officers accepted me enough to steal in front of me." Shocked by his nonchalance, I asked him to describe how officers steal.

"Well, I don't know about other cities, but in San Francisco it's mostly done in patrol cars. Two officers will break into a store that's in their patrol area. They take the loot out, put it in the trunk, drive to a private car and transfer the stuff. Then they return to the scene and make out a burglary report."

Almost nothing is done about such theft, for several reasons. First, Thomas Cahill, the police chief, will retire soon and wants, above everything, to avoid a riot in his city or a scandal in his department. Then, everyone who knows of the crime usually gets a cut. Finally, the POA at least tacitly accepts police theft as a police fringe benefit.

In the same offhand way, the young officer added: "Right now there's an organized burglary ring operating out of the Hall of Justice. About nine guys are involved, I think, and I've heard they're selling color TV sets for $50 apiece in the basement. Cahill is trying to cover it up before the press gets hold of it."

The story was so fantastic that I dismissed it as rumor, but the next day the *San Francisco Chronicle* ran a front-page article headlined, "SF Probe of Alleged Cop Theft Ring." The *Chronicle* said that Cahill had assigned three captains to investigate the "rumor" that a burglary ring was operating out of the Hall of Justice. When I phoned the young officer, he commented: "Did you notice that Cahill assigned the three dumbest captains on the whole force to investigate?"

It is noted with irony in the department that Community Relations, the unit that has received least support from Cahill and the POA, has become nationally famous for its professionalism and work with the city's minority groups. Dante Andreotti, whose leadership helped create the reputation of the unit, left the department when Cahill persistently refused to support the work of the PCR. [See "The Friendly Fuzz" by Alvin A. Rosenfeld, *The Nation*, April 21.] After Andreotti's departure, a series of white administrators failed to win the support of the men in the unit or the communities they served.

Though deprived of effective leadership, these men have maintained their alliances with the city's minorities. In June, working with the OFJ (many officers were members of both groups) they helped secure the appointment of Rodney Williams, the first black officer to head the PCR. Williams has been a member of the OFJ since its beginning. This appointment was a signal to the POA that the black movement had come of age in the San Francisco Police Department.

Racism in the department has moved a long way from the rubber hose in a back room, but its present sophistication does not mean its disappearance. It does mean that those who would fight racism have a much harder time finding their targets. Hongisto, the only white member of the OFJ, explained: "It's the way the white guys look at the black guys, like they know why the black guys are there. It's where you get assigned and who'll help you if you get in trouble. It's just a reflection of the way the outside works, only worse."

The size of membership is a problem for the OFJ. There are only eighty black officers in the whole department, and if every one of them is a member of the OFJ (it will not disclose membership figures) the group is still numerically very weak. The POA has more than 1,700 members. Judging the relative strength by membership is deceptive in this instance. The apathy of the POA reduces its strength. Fewer than 100 officers came to the September 16 meeting, when the POA decided to oppose the referendum. Conversely, an OFJ member must be active almost by definition. Nevertheless, the Officers for Justice must attract a membership that is not based on race alone if it hopes to erode the POA's hold on police politics.

The proposed referendum may help. Palmer Jackson, vice president of the OFJ, has pointed out that the real strength of the OFJ comes from community support, not from department politics, and the referendum perfectly fits that situation. The POA must now present its case to

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the public, and there the black association has already proved itself more adept.

The POA must also try to neutralize the support which the referendum is receiving from a unanimous Board of Supervisors, the Mayor, the department's administration, the city's newspapers and, perhaps most important, the rank and file of policemen and firemen who are naturally inclined to back a measure that will increase their pay checks.

If the referendum does pass, it will not signal that the battle has been won but only that it has begun. The POA's revenues and traditional influence guarantee that it will continue for many years to represent most police officers in the city. The Officers for Justice do not expect that they will severely eclipse that influence. Although they will accept any police officer as a member, no white policeman—except Hongisto, who was one of the founders—has applied.

The OFJ does hope that by winning the referendum it will gain a position strong enough to alter the policy and performance of the police. Rodney Williams was explicit: "For instance, a black kid was shot a month ago after he jumped out of a stolen car. There was no reasonable excuse for the shooting, but it often happens: some kid goes joy-riding, gets scared when the cops chase him, and runs. He winds up dead, and usually he's black. Now, why couldn't Cahill order that car theft suspects not be fired on? If there was a black deputy chief, or even one who cared about blacks, then a no-shoot order could be suggested at the highest level. As it is, all we can do is sit and hope."

If the POA has its way, that is all that men like Williams will ever do. Chief counsel Ehrlich will not say how he plans to defeat the referendum ("As general, I can't commit my troops until all the facts are in. George Washington and Napoleon learned that"), but the POA can afford to spend many thousands of dollars on the campaign.

Sitting in his office, festooned with intertwining American and Confederate flags, Ehrlich denied that racism was behind the POA's intent. But when questioned about some of the charges of the Officers for Justice, Ehrlich motioned to Harry Bell, head of the POA: "Get him *The Black Book*." Bell hustled off. Ehrlich handed me the book when Bell returned. "Here, this'll show you who the real racists are."

San Francisco, for all its renown as a progressive city, has yet to support real reform in its Police and Fire Departments; and Mayor Alioto, who is reading the conservative winds in politics very carefully, may not push the referendum. Within the Police Department the bitterness is growing. "It's as if the department woke up one day this year and found out the world was coming apart along a black and white seam," remarked a member of the OFJ, "and the department was going with it. Only it was happening faster here because it had to catch up. And no one can say that things have improved, but neither can they say things will ever be the same."

More than anything, the POA fears change. Harry Bell and Jake Ehrlich know that their association will last out this test, but they are old men clinging to ideas and attitudes whose time has passed. Whether or not the POA wins this one, everyone will know there has been a fight, and that another is coming soon.

COMMISSION ON VIOLENCE

THE RHETORIC OF EVASION

RICHARD DRINNON

Mr. Drinnon is a professor of history at Bucknell University. He is the author of a biography of Emma Goldman.

[The U.S. Government is] the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today. *Martin Luther King, Jr.*

So let us, for God's sake, resolve to live under the law. *Lyndon Baines Johnson*

Violence in America is now out in the open—in the streets, so to speak, and in the libraries, offices, conference and hearing rooms. Violence finally exists for the simple reason that it can no longer be denied. But once recognized, it must be immediately reconcealed, rendered politically irrelevant, like an earthquake or a hurricane. After all, one of the traditional claims of the national state is that it provides security to its subjects. More important, the recognition of significant internal violence would call into question all the current myths that legitimize official violence. Seen in this light, Chief Justice Warren headed up our first national commission on violence; his task was to restore the feeling of security shattered by President Kennedy's assassination. This was accomplished by establishing the pretty truth that the ugly event had no meaning: Oswald was a nut. After the assassination of Robert Kennedy, Mr. Johnson followed what had become standard operating procedure: he quickly announced the appointment of "a commission of most distinguished Americans to immediately examine this tragic phenomenon." Milton Eisenhower took up where Warren left off, Eric Hoffer replaced Gerald Ford as the solitary man of letters on the commission, and a new team took over.

Though the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence has pretensions, as its name suggests, which go beyond those of any of the recent spate of investigations, it is in origin and operation a political body moving into politically contested areas.* The study

*Thus far the commission has issued a *Progress Report to the President*, as well as statements on Campus Disorders, Firearms, and Violence in TV Entertainment; five *Investiga-*

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team on San Francisco State, for example, having found "instances of police overreaction," then discovered that these details had been omitted from the final version of their report. James Brann, one of the researchers, told newsmen the deletion "appalls and saddens me." The special report on "Shoot Out in Cleveland" carefully lists the names of black nationalists and omits those of the police who were obviously involved in acts of violence. Why? Both reports contain conclusions at variance with data introduced in preceding pages. Why? Any meaningful answer to these questions awaits a careful, independent study of the inner workings of the commission and its relationships with its advisory panel, executive staff, directors of research, task forces, study teams, consultants. Evidence already available, however, suggests the kind of political infighting associated with, say, the McClellan subcommittee's inquiry into "college violence."

But an understanding of the commission's politics must be sought, in the main, at a much more subtle, sophisticated level. "For purposes of commencing our study," the commission noted, "we have defined 'violence' simply as the threat or use of force that results, or is intended to result, in the injury or forcible restraint or intimidation of persons, or the destruction or forcible seizure of property." It is not true that this is "simple," nor does it follow that "there is no implicit value judgment in this definition." The definition blurs over distinctions that must be made between intimidation, force, coercion, vandalism and violence. By bringing in destruction of property it confuses the sensible distinction between property crime and violent crime. More important, once a definition deals with property as well as people, the exploitation, neglect and abuse of the wretched of the earth must be taken into account. The commission assigned no task force to that area. Further, though it granted that wars fell within the above definition, it predictably failed to assign a task force to study the violence of the United States Government. In laying out seven areas of inquiry, the commission demonstrated a keen interest in black and white protest politics and individual acts of violence. The answers were largely built into the questions: the commission's "conclusions" will almost certainly find their way back to its definition.

The "Preface" accompanying each report shows how violence can be stripped of its social meaning and made into a "problem" of manipulation and control. Violence is quickly whisked under the carpet of behavioral science rhetoric. James F. Short, Jr., and Marvin E. Wolfgang, directors of research, were impressed by the encouragement and response of the "scientific community." They enlisted "scientists"—even historians are generously honored with the title—for the staff and helped them "in structuring the strategy of design for each Task Force." They kept a close eye on the "delicate details of some of the statistical problems and computer runs." They made every effort to blend the work of lawyers "with the methodology of science and statistical reasoning." They show in their prose the bureaucrat's contempt for the "irrationality" of good craftsmanship: "Partly because of the freedom which the Commission gave to the Directors of Research and the Directors of each Task Force, and partly to retain the full integrity of the research work in publication, these reports of the Task Forces are in the posture of being submitted to and received by the Commission."

Short is co-author of *Suicide and Homicide* (The Free Press, 1954). He and Andrew F. Henry tried to demonstrate "that the acts of both suicide and homicide are undifferentiated responses to extreme frustration arising from extreme loss of position in the status hierarchy relative to the status position of others in the same status reference system." For a discussion of why this hypothesis will not work, once deciphered, see Martin Gold's critique in *Society and Self*, edited by B. H. Stoodley (The Free Press, 1962).

Wolfgang collaborated with Franco Ferracuti on *The Subculture of Violence* (Barnes & Noble, 1967). Showing remarkable detachment from the tragic history of blacks in American society, the authors confessed to an unreadiness "to assert how a subculture of violence arises," and concluded with a cheerful discussion of Orwellian techniques for better controlling members of the unexplained phenomenon. These included "television block-scanners relaying street scenes to the police, and stationed strategically throughout the city."

Short and Wolfgang proudly remark on the "uncommon degree of prominence accorded research" by the willingness of the commissioners to let them participate in meetings and engage in discussions "at the highest level of decision making." Their awe and elation are understandable: This latest recognition of the enhanced status of the technical elite puts them in a strategic position to hook scientifically processed and evaluated data directly onto the top link of the chain of command. Their sense of freedom is less impressive. Like other objective scholars who have undergone the painful process of internalizing their mission of mystification, they could be trusted to act "reasonably" and "responsibly." So far as I can tell, the freedom granted them differs in no material respect from that granted the members of an Institute of Defense Analysis or a panel of government trouble-shooters assigned to work out ways to win the hearts and minds of exotic but recalcitrant foreigners.

Ithiel de Sola Pool, champion of CIA support of the social sciences, moved with grace from studies of how to immobilize Vietcong cadres to an assignment with the task force on "Individual Acts of Violence." Other scholars include John J. Guidici, Captain of Police of Oakland, Calif., and Raymond Tanter, the 1967 Deputy Director for Behavioral Sciences of the Advanced Research Projects Agency, Department of Defense. The quality of Tanter's impartiality comes through in the introductory comments to his paper: "The media carries [*sic*] the mes-

tive Reports: Chicago, Cleveland, Miami, Counter-Inaugural, San Francisco State, and three *Task Force Reports*: (*1*) "Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives"; (*2*) "The Politics of Protest: Violent Aspects of Protest and Confrontation"; and (*3*) "Firearms and Violence in American Life." Four other *Task Force Reports* have yet to appear. Technically, statements are made *by* the commission; investigative and task force reports are presented *to* the commission.

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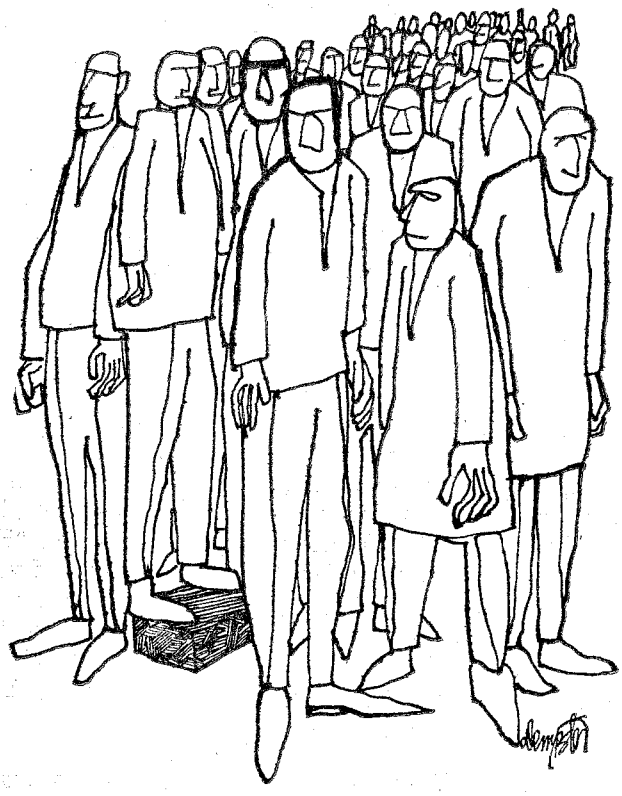

sage of the violent ones. 'Draft Beer, Not Boys,' 'Hell no, we won't go'. . . ."

Given this parentage, the two volumes on "Historical and Comparative Perspectives" provide few surprises. No critic, novelist, poet, or playwright explores the rich area of American imaginative expression. There is only an inadequate paper by Kenneth Lynn, who goes out of his way to pummel Leslie Fiedler and other "messianic" critics—meaning apparently those, like Fiedler, Baldwin, Sontag, Mailer and others, whose absence seems such a distracting presence. In any event, Fiedler and his like are guilty of an "indictment of American books [which] has opened the way to the conviction of American society."

The contributions of historians are, on the whole, only slightly less disappointing. Charles Tilly's "Collective Violence in European Perspective" establishes some of the connections between political life and forms of collective violence. Unfortunately these connections, the politicalization of modern patterns of violence, the rise of the centralized state and the concomitant nationalization of repressive forces—all important issues—are not pursued in depth by other contributors. Sheldon Hackney does demonstrate that violence in the American South cannot be explained by any of the behavorial models of interpretation and thereby leaves the door open a crack for suspect historical accounts of manners and beliefs.

Louis Hartz goes some way in "A Comparative Study of Fragment Cultures" to isolate what is unique about American patterns of violence. The colonies were founded and the United States has been run by WASP immigrants, Hartz points out, who fled from the social revolution in Europe, established a fragment culture based on the absolute taking for granted of bourgeois values, buttressed this with a peculiar sense of mission, and articulated the whole through a particularly virulent strain of nationalism. The result was a "shrunken consensus" which other fragments within, or other societies without, could reject only at great peril. If this valuable lead, which in Hartz's formulation necessarily remains abstract, had been fleshed out by inquiries into the *means* by which the consensus was enforced, the discussion of vigilantism would have had some context and there would have been discussions of that prime enforcer of them all, the national state. Some historians, however, simply make collections of violent episodes, frontier or urban, and hang them from a time line with a few observations. Others seem undone by the challenge of their new status as scientists. Prof. Richard M. Brown, for instance, devises a typology of violence: there is "negative" violence and there is "positive" violence. Vigilante groups can be otherwise divided:

> For purposes of analysis, the 116 Eastern vigilante movements and the 210 Western vigilante movements have been divided into the categories of large (L)—a large movement or one of particular significance; medium (M)—a movement of medium size or significance; and small (S)—a small movement or one for which there is insufficient information to otherwise categorize.

For a still more advanced use of refined techniques, one must turn to the behaviorists themselves. James C. Davies, a political scientist, brings scientific method to bear on historical events in his paper on "The J-Curve of Rising and Declining Satisfactions as a Cause of Some Great Revolutions and a Contained Rebellion." In several case studies, including one on the American Civil War, Professor Davies found that revolt was each time preceded by a long-term improvement in conditions that had very recently been reversed. Rebellion arose from the resultant gap between expectations and satisfactions. You might visualize the J-curve as a shepherd's crook, grasped by the straight end and held out at an angle of 45 degrees; the curve is turned downward to indicate the sharp decline in satisfactions. Applied to the Civil War, the J-curve indicates a rising level of satisfactions in the South from the invention of the cotton gin to the panic of 1857, at which point satisfactions drop off sharply during four years of economic depression. The curve ends with the firing of "the first shot, on the federal Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, on April 21, 1861."

Obviously Professor Davies had no premeditated intention of firing the first shot at a fort which had already surrendered—the bombardment of Sumter commenced on April 12 and the garrison surrendered the following day. But there are more serious problems. He makes "the immediate and very threatening economic crisis of 1857" an event of decisive importance: "This was the final critical downturn in the gratifications of Southerners." If it was, the South's leading economist did not know it. In 1857, J. B. D. De Bow gleefully reported in his review that the South had suffered less than any other region from the effects of the temporary breakdown: "The wealth of the South is permanent and real," he announced, "that of the North fugitive and fictitious."

Of the tens of thousands of volumes on the Civil War, Davies lists four references: A summary of census statis-

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tics, W. J. Cash's study of the Southern mind, an 1897 study of the cotton industry, and Robert R. Russel's *Economic Aspects of Southern Sectionalism*, published in 1924. While Russel's work remains a valuable summary, it obviously could not alert Davies to the recent controversy over the state of the slave economy in the 1850s. Flush times apparently continued throughout the decade, with only a slight pause in 1857. Lack of acquaintance with the issues and sources leads Davies astray in less important areas, as in his great howler: "In America the South denied the desirability of education and anything other than agricultural technology." And he apparently thinks planters were called "plantationers." Even J-curves owe a measure of respect to the materials they so abstractly pretend to explain. Besides, how do you measure satisfactions?

Ivo and Rosalind Feierabend and Betty Nesvold use the J-curve and its variants in their still more ambitious study of social change and political violence. Investigating eighty-four countries over a thirty-year period, they find that political violence is least in traditional and modern societies and greatest in transitional or modernizing societies. Think of an elliptical curve on a chart, with traditional and modernity stages at the ends and a transitional stage in the center, where the gap between aspirations and achievements is greatest. At this center point is the highest level of violence. Unhappily, the model does not fit the data on violence in the United States. It is admittedly the most modern nation in the world, yet in measurement of political violence it falls at the median position, with half the nations having more violence and half less. Moreover, all of the turmoil indicators show that rates of American violence have increased in the 1960s.

Are the elaborate model and laboriously collected evidence to smash on the rocks of precisely what was to be explained in the first place? Feierabend, Feierabend and Nesvold gallantly try to salvage what they can: perhaps the United States, as the most modern nation, is moving into yet another transitional stage not yet experienced elsewhere; perhaps its relatively high level of violence can be explained by the presence of traditional subcultures only now experiencing the frustrations of modernization; perhaps "the transitional process within our own society was intensified by the demonstration effect of the global process at mid-20th century." Perhaps.

"The demonstration effect of the global process": What a peculiar way to express the sense of identity and kinship felt by Malcolm X and others with the rise of the Third World. Ideas and feelings must slip into behavioral studies by the back door. Counted millions disappear to become bits of data for the frustration-aggression hypothesis or, as Ted Robert Gurr more dogmatically puts it, "the frustration-aggression mechanism, apparently a fundamental part of our psychobiological makeup."*

*For Feierabend, Feierabend and Nesvold it is a *hypothesis* and for Gurr a *mechanism*. Is there no difference? The assembly-line characteristics of the collection leave other rough edges over such issues as the improved status of American blacks, the relationship of rising levels of education to rates of violence, and so on.

I do not recall that any of these writers refers to racism or colonialism or imperialism. Gurr rules out of his tabulations official violence, "the violence used by regimes to maintain social control"; and in his ranking of 114 nations by "total magnitude of strife," he has the effrontery to put South Vietnam in third place, behind the Congo and Indonesia and thirty-eight places ahead of the United States. The role of the United States in the "strife" in Vietnam—the war against the people and the countryside, the accelerated "urbanization" of peasants—hardly bears mentioning at this point. And the tabulated results are not what they seem for other parts of the world. In Guatemala, for example, which Gurr lists in twentieth place, the level of strife has something to do with the American intervention of 1954, which stopped the pitifully small steps toward reform then under way, and with the subsequent use of Panama-based planes to drop napalm on suspected rebels. But enough. With a few exceptions, like the fine contribution by Louis Hartz, the papers in "Historical and Comparative Perspectives" posit a world without meaningful history, without real people, without felt experiences. Violence—notwithstanding the admission that Americans are "bloody-minded"—is pulled into all the tables, charts and figures and J-curved over the horizon.

It would be nice to think that "The Politics of Protest: Violent Aspects of Protest & Confrontation" stands in such sharp contrast to the other commission reports because of student and black efforts to establish the connections between private and official violence. It was undertaken at Berkeley, in any event, while that campus was declared to be under a "state of extreme emergency." The early lessons of the counterinsurgency campaigns of cops and National Guardsmen on that campus—leading on down to the People's Park confrontation last spring and the symbolic appearance of a helicopter dropping C.S. gas on people in Sproul Hall Plaza—could hardly have been lost on Jerome Skolnick and his associates. For whatever reasons, it is an analysis rather

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than an investigation, as Skolnick insists, and it properly starts out by clearing away much of the ideological underbrush. Violence is declared to be an ambiguous term defined by the political process. The war in Vietnam is present in its soul-deadening fullness as a genuine experience of our time. Even the illegality of the war is taken into account. The ideology of black nationalism is treated with respect, and not mishandled as in the other reports. The role of the police in causing violence is emphasized. White militants receive due credit for being, outside those in official positions, the single most violent force in American history. The Skolnick analysts see contemporary violence as a sign of the desperate need for fundamental change in American society. They warn against interpretations of riots in terms of the "carnival," "contagion" and "control" preoccupations of sociologists such as Morris Janowitz. They have, in short, produced a valuable, courageous document.

This much said, I must add that Skolnick and his associates have hardly escaped the official bag. They seem never to have come to grips with the implications of "the suspicion with which this Commission is viewed by many militant black leaders" (the blacks flatly refused to cooperate with the study team on San Francisco State and held back from full cooperation with this inquiry). And, after all, the assignment given the Skolnick task force was the violence of protesters, not the connections between official and protest violence. Thus in discussing the raging racism which is not receiving the massive attention it demands, they rather lamely conclude that "other priorities and other claims still seem to dominate the nation's budget." Good enough; but why not come right out and say that the trillion dollars we have spent on "defense" since 1945 are among the trillion reasons that we are in the present fix? Finally, even this important step toward understanding violence amongst us will be trivialized, lost like Hartz's essay in the mass of surrounding jargon. It will come out distorted in the commission's final report, which will be a judicious and irrelevant balancing of measures of concession and control.

Suspicion by militant blacks helps put the commission in its proper context. Or imagine Thich Nhat Hanh, the Vietnamese monk and poet, working his way through the reports. He might be bemused by the sleight of hand whereby President Johnson directed attention away from the task forces waging a war of desolation against Vietnam, and toward the task forces considering the "violence" of those protesting it or suffering from it.

JAPAN 1970: YEAR OF UPHEAVAL

JEFFREY P. FREED

Mr. Freed, formerly at the International Relations Center, San Francisco State College, is this year at the University of Oregon. His third trip to Japan was made this summer.

The civil turmoil, violence and repression which will sweep Japan in the next year has been predictable since 1960, when the government of Prime Minister Nobuske Kishi rammed ratification of the U.S.-Japan Mutual Treaty of Cooperation and Security through the Diet. Under the treaty's provisions 1970 is a critical year, for either party can then give notice of intent to revise or abrogate the pact. Since Prime Minister Eisaku Sato's government intends to allow the agreement to extend its term automatically, the stage is set for a yearlong series of confrontations that may easily surpass the massive protests of ten years ago.

In 1959-60 the Kishi government negotiated the security treaty with the United States as a revision of the 1951 Peace Treaty, which was the basis for post-occupation U.S. policy in Japan. While the United States proposed changes that were from Japan's viewpoint a substantial improvement over the terms of 1951, the more onerous details of post-occupation relations remained untouched—Japan was still tied to U.S. policy in the Far East, and numerous American military bases remained on the three home islands.

Once negotiations were in progress, an opposition movement quickly developed. Led by the Japanese Socialist Party (JSP) and its labor affiliate Sohyo (General Council of Labor), and bolstered by the radical students in Zengakuren (Federation of Student Self-Governing Associations), the movement grew. People joined for various reasons. The majority of the Left opposed the treaty itself, but many moderate citizens joined in protest against Kishi's undemocratic methods, and in hostility to Kishi himself, who was a "depurged" war criminal. (He was Minister of Finance in the Tojo cabinet.) At their peak, the dissidents numbered in the millions, and their outcry forced the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) to dissolve the Kishi government.

The 1970 anti-treaty movement, although engendered by the same issues that arose in 1960, has become a more general protest, having as its broadest target the whole Japanese "system." Vague fears of ten years ago have today become a stark reality for most of the opposition. The major issues are:

American Bases. These produce both political and social irritants. For the Left, the more than 120 military installations are an infringement of national sovereignty. They also represent "American aggression" in Vietnam, most of the large posts having been used as staging areas for the Southeast Asian battlefields.

The social irritants are as potent. Over the last ten years protests have been staged against the "low morals" of American military personnel, against restrictions on civilian activities around bases, and against military-related flights over and transportation through densely populated areas. Agitation against this last category of

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provocation became widespread and militant in 1967-68, following the crashes of fighter aircraft, and the explosions of trains carrying jet fuel and munitions.

Okinawa Reversion. In the last several years the matter of ownership of the Ryukyu Islands, of which Okinawa is the largest, has taken a dramatic turn. The fact that Okinawa is run by the U.S. Department of Defense under conditions bordering on dictatorship does little to create good will, and Japanese opinion has always been uneasy about the vast U.S. bases there. But feelings began to grow much hotter when it was discovered that the Okinawan airfields were used to mount raids on North Vietnam. More recently, people have been outraged to learn that nuclear, chemical and biological weapons are stored in the Okinawan depots. The protest against bases has extended to include Okinawa, and at the same time the Okinawan nationalist movement has gained force. The cry is for self-determination, which most Japanese construe as a return of the island to Japan.

The Sato Government. For many, the present government recalls the Kishi days (Sato is Kishi's younger brother). In the midst of its third term in power, the Sato group has moved significantly to the right. In foreign relations it has committed the nation to two unpopular causes: renewing the security treaty, and approving a general rearmament and increase in the size of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF), a euphemism for the army and navy. Domestically, the government has gained passage of a feudal health and old-age bill that places the burden of care on the family, and a university control bill. It has not put through needed social welfare and relief legislation. These programs and their roughshod passage through the Diet have drawn criticism even from anti-Sato factions within the normally conservative and acquiescent LDP.

American Imperialism and Japanese Militarism. Linking the other issues is the underlying assumption that the United States has been able to make Japan an accomplice in its "aggressive and interventionist" Asian policy. More recently, it has been argued that Japan has been integrated into the American military-industrial complex, its industries producing war material for U.S. forces in Asia, and its government following the dictates of the Nixon Administration that it rearm and take over the policing of the Pacific region.

According to opinion prevailing on the Left, the very fabric of Japanese society has been recast by the United States, acting in consort with Japan's ruling class. Given this premise, almost any anti-U.S. and anti-government issue becomes part of the treaty fight. Most newspapers refer to any protest as an "*ampo kogai*," translated as a "public disturbance caused by the security treaty."

There is by no means unanimity of opinion within the anti-treaty opposition. A fundamental difference divides the movement into reformist parties and new Left groups. The reformists call for a political reorientation to reverse the gradual deterioration of parliamentary democracy and the revival of militarism; the new Left believes that effective democracy has already disappeared and that the country is held by a reactionary ruling class bol-

The Agencies of Protest

Anti-War Youth Committee (AWYC): The dominant organization of young workers (formed by Sohyo).

Beheiren: Japan Committee for Peace in Vietnam.

Kankoro: Council of National and Local Government Workers' Unions.

Komeito: The political party of the Buddhist Value Creating Society (Soka Gakki).

Minsei: Democratic Youth League (formed by Japanese Communist Party).

Soka Gakki: Buddhist Value Creating Society; a religious sect.

Sohyo: General Council of Labor (affiliate of the Japanese Socialist Party).

Zengakudo: All-Japan Student Alliance (formed by Soka Gakki).

Zengakuren: Federation of Student Self-Governing Associations.

stered by U.S. imperialism. Applying these analyses in actions, the reformist parties favor ballot-box politics and peaceful demonstrations, while the new Left calls for sustained mobilization, involving rebellion if necessary. The reformist parties reproach the new Left for engaging in unreasonable actions likely to provoke fearful retaliation from the authorities; the new Left denounces the parties as "revisionist" and "sell-out." Parallels could be drawn with the liberal-radical disputes in the United States, except that the Japanese Left has long been a Marxist movement and that no group there even approximately corresponds to our conception of "liberal."

The overall composition of the opposition movement is as follows: The reformist category is occupied by the Japanese Socialist Party (JSP), with its large labor affiliate Sohyo, and by the Japanese Communist Party (JCP). A third party, Komeito, the political arm of Soka Gakki (Buddhist Value Creating Society) is a borderline group that often sides with the new Left. The two main sections of the new Left are the student and youth organizations, and the citizens' groups. Zengakuren, controlling the student movement, is comprised of a number of major factions, and is usually referred to as the Anti-Communist Party Zengakuren. (The name is misleading, since the group is not opposed to communism as such, but to what it sees as the revisionism of the JCP.) Closely associated with the Anti-CP Zengakuren, but not affiliated with any Zengakuren faction, are the Joint Struggle committees formed last year to support the strikes that closed most of Japan's major universities. The dominant nonstudent youth organization is the Anti-War Youth Committee (AWYC), consisting of young workers and also associated with the Anti-CP Zengakuren. Organizational identification in the citizens' movement is more difficult because it is composed of hundreds of local groups; but one that is of national importance—it may be the single most

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influential organization in the new Left—is Beheiren (Japan Committee for Peace in Vietnam).

The government has already named the new Left as its major opponent in the coming year. A report to Prime Minister Sato, issued on August 14, 1969, by the LDP's "Special Conference on Student Problems," identified the Anti-CP Zengakuren, the Anti-War Youth Committee and Beheiren as "dangerous groups warranting attention in the upcoming struggle."

Both the Socialist and the Communist parties have recently disengaged somewhat from the anti-treaty struggle. The reasons are a little different in each case, but factionalism, lackluster programs, scandal, unwillingness to cooperate with other Left organizations and a fear of decisive militant action can all be blamed. In the years since 1960, when it organized and led the anti-security treaty movement, the JSP has fallen on bad times. The problems arise, essentially, because the party is built around professional politicians and has no mass support except for a tacit alliance with Sohyo. Recent national elections have reduced the party's Diet strength, and similar losses in local elections have diminished its effectiveness in prefectural councils and metropolitan assemblies. Adding to these afflictions is some decline in the Socialist hold over Sohyo's 4 million affiliated members. The labor federation has itself split into left and right wings, with the powerful Left drawing strength from Kankoro (Council of National and Local Government Workers' Unions), and the Right relying on the craft and industrial unions. The Right wants Sohyo to curtail its program of political strikes and demonstrations and pay more attention to economic demands. It also resists any connections with militant student and youth groups, especially the Anti-War Youth Committee. And, of course, the Left takes the opposite position of more political action, and closer alliance with the students and young workers. With the JSP's primary source of votes at loggerheads, the party has floundered through the last two important elections.

The Communist Party has fared somewhat better, particularly in its ability to attract votes; most of its new support comes from disenchanted Socialists. The JCP has 300,000 open, and 100,000 secret members, and polls about 2 million votes. However, it would be hazardous to predict that the JCP will sustain this voting strength. In the last three years it has become an outcast on the Left, because of dishonesty in its ideological position and "sectarianism" in its relations with other Left groups. The party's ideological shiftiness became evident in 1966 when it swung dramatically from a pro- to an anti-Chinese position. This reversal was touched off by an accurate charge from Peking that the JCP's revolutionary rhetoric was not borne out in its "revisionist" actions. The JCP made virtually no attempt to deny the charge; it replied by accusing China of meddling in JCP affairs and went on to purge pro-Chinese members from the party. In recent years the party has tried to remold itself along French and Italian Communist lines, seeking power through parliamentary victories. Its position on the Left is rather peculiar, since most other groups stand to *its* left, and its exclusionist policy is directed against radicals. The fact is that a great many people who vote for JCP candidates are casting "protest ballots"; the party itself has less appeal than its election figures would suggest.

JSP and JCP weaknesses have played havoc with their attempts to lead the anti-treaty movement. Each party has its own anti-treaty organization, the JSP's being the Anti-Japan-U.S. Security Treaty Council, and the Communists having the Council for Abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and for the Realization of Various Demands. At present neither party is willing to

Kyoto Demonstrators Set Afire by Their Own Molotov Cocktails during Brawl with Police.
—From an AP Photo, September 21

ally its group with that of the other, and the prospects for JSP or JCP anti-treaty action with the new Left is almost nonexistent.

With Socialists and Communists standing on the perimeter of the anti-treaty movement, the only political party that might play an influential role is Komeito. Formed in 1964, as the political arm of the Buddhist Soka Gakki sect, its strength lies in some 10 million to 15 million members (organized around 4 million family units) who are typically blue-collar workers employed in private enterprises. The sect is thus the largest proletarian unit in Japan. Soka Gakki offers a Populist program that stresses elimination of poverty, health programs, and pub-

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lic well-being (often called "socialism"). In the last two years it has sought relations with the new Left, and has committed itself to join the anti-treaty protests. But Soka Gakki's influence with the radical groups will remain nebulous until it decides its political course. Since its professed goal is to be the major challenger to the LDP by 1975, it can be expected to restrict its activities in the immediate future to running candidates, and mobilizing anti-treaty forces through its newly formed student organization, Zengakudo (All-Japan Student Alliance).

That leaves the new Left to take to the streets. Its prominence in the anti-treaty movement has not been long established, and it too has suffered from internal squabbles, particularly in the volatile student sector. For more than two decades the student movement has been synonymous with Zengakuren. Its organizational form is a federation of hundreds of university student governments. From 1948 to 1958 the JCP was the predominant force behind the movement, but distaste for the rigid party discipline and the failure of the party to involve itself in militant action produced heretics. The JCP reacted harshly with widespread purges. There the party miscalculated: the anti-party radicals were the majority in Zengakuren, and they retaliated by taking the student movement away from the JCP. Throughout the 1960 anti-treaty mobilization, Zengakuren was a unified vanguard. Its snake-dancing students led assaults on the Diet and clashed with riot police, gaining national recognition. But ratification of the treaty was followed by tactical revaluations and these led to dispute. By 1961, Zengakuren had entered a period of extreme factionalism, characterized until 1967 by repeated splits followed by new mergers. This proclivity for realignment gave the Communists a chance to recapture the student movement. They used as their vehicle Minsei (Democratic Youth League), pitting it against the weak amalgamation of anti-CP factions. By 1968, the Communists had regained control over more than two-thirds of Japan's student governments. Then, in the latest swing of this power game, anti-CP Zengakuren initiated most of last year's student strikes, and as the strike movement grew, support for Minsei began to dissolve. Minsei attempted repeatedly to abort the strikes and to mobilize students against Zengakuren. Most students, while preferring not to clash with police, sided with the more radical students. Zengakuren emerged from last year's actions with control of the movement regained from Minsei. By May, anti-CP factions dominated nearly 40 per cent of all student governments, representing more than two-thirds of Japan's university students. The groups have followed up this tactical alliance with attempts at joint action. In May, eleven factions agreed to combine in a demonstration to prevent Foreign Minister Aichi's visit to the United States. This was the first real joint move since 1960.

Serious differences still remain within Zengakuren, and competing groups often engage in what the Japanese call *Gewalt* (German for "violent struggle"), expending as much energy in combat with one another as they direct toward the riot police. These clashes have become full battles when the opposite sides were anti-CP sects against the hated Minsei chapters. However, as preparations for the anti-treaty struggle have increased, the propensity for *Gewalt* has subsided. Diminishing friction has enabled groups to spend more time cultivating outside alliances, with special attention going to the Anti-War Youth Committee.

The Anti-War Youth Committee was formed by Sohyo in 1965 as an organization of militant young workers responsible for labor action against ratification of the Japanese-South Korean Treaty of Friendship. In four years it has become almost as controversial as Zengakuren; it is currently embroiled in a triangular dispute among JSP, Sohyo and JCP. Millions of Japanese youth, denied the advanced education that leads to better jobs, are forced to seek employment in industry. Having found work, their dissatisfaction is likely to increase in the paternal atmosphere of Japanese business. These rebellious young workers are the ready recruits for AWYC, which has had a spectacular growth.

Working through Sohyo, AWYC has made contact with militant workers in the Kankoro (government workers) unions, many of whom were former Zengakuren activists. Such connections are particularly strong with the Japan Teachers' Union and the various communication industry and local government unions. With older labor militants providing the introductions and radical students doing the organizing, AWYC has gradually moved to the point of following anti-CP Zengakuren in most struggles. For this reason AWYC finds itself in trouble with Sohyo and the large reformist parties. The JSP sought to have AWYC dissolved. Sohyo banned the committee from its anti-treaty activities, and the JCP refused to enter into any unified action with JSP or Sohyo if the radical young workers were included.

Nor are the "reformist" parties the only group alarmed by AWYC's potential. At its regular general meeting on April 23, the powerful Japan Federation of Employers' Associations warned of "moves to create disorder through illegal means such as political strikes among some groups in connection with the so-called 1970 struggle." Everyone on the Left knew that "some groups" meant AWYC and its student allies. Despite opposition from both labor leadership and employers, AWYC continues to grow.

While activists from anti-CP Zengakuren, joint struggle committees and the Anti-War Youth Committee will furnish shock troops for the anti-treaty movement, tacit leadership is being exercised by Beheiren (Japan Committee for Peace in Vietnam). Established in 1965, the group has grown to more than 300 local chapters with an estimated membership of nearly 1 million. Beheiren bans no one and its ranks contain a wide political assortment from the Left, along with many apolitical citizens who are alarmed by the security treaty and its related issues.

This nonrestrictive approach carries over into relations with other groups, and it is primarily by the efforts of Beheiren that joint action has again taken hold on the Left. Beheiren's leaders are continually meeting with other Left organizations in quest of some basis for cooperation, but its leaders believe that their influence with others comes as much from their response to specific situations. The two most often mentioned are the April 28 "Oki-

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nawa Day" demonstrations and the June 15 anti-treaty demonstration.

The critical events on Okinawa Day occurred as a Beheiren-led march was moving through the Ginza (Tokyo's shopping and night-life boulevard). A little earlier, radical students armed with staves had marched to the nearby government offices district, and there met thousands of riot police. After an eruption of hit-and-run street fighting, the students were driven back toward the Ginza. Beheiren's leaders had two options: to terminate the march or to allow the fleeing students to escape the police by entering their ranks. They chose the latter, and then decided to emphasize their defiance of the government and police by having the entire march (nearly 50,000 persons) sit down in the street. Beheiren's actions brought an immediate pay-off in Zengakuren good will, bringing the student and citizen movements closer together. A test of this solidarity came on June 15, chosen as the anniversary for the 1960 resistance. Beheiren called for a massive demonstration against the treaty and for the reversion of Okinawa, and invited all groups to participate. But instead of forcing participating groups to attend its rally, Beheiren sanctioned other rallying areas for use by the more independent students. However, when the time came to march, all the groups joined, the radical students participating for the first time since 1967 without their staves. The spirit of unity carried over into a two-day meeting that ended with the formation of the Anti-Treaty Unified Executive Committee consisting of representatives from more than 300 organizations.

Though events have taken the new Left a long way toward joint action, the cooperation is still of limited scope. Almost the only areas of agreement are that there will be a 1970 anti-treaty campaign and that its opening round will take place from October through December. Three sets of actions are to mark this period. There will be a "Haneda struggle" on October 8, second anniversary of the student-police clashes at Tokyo's Haneda International Airport at the time when Sato departed for an unpopular tour of Southeast Asia. Sometime late in November will come protests aimed at preventing Sato from flying to the United States for talks with Nixon on Okinawa and the Security Treaty. And, assuming that Sato is able to leave, his homecoming will touch off another round of confrontation. Aside from these plans, nothing has been agreed upon for the "autumn struggle."

As the least tactically militant of the new Left groups, Beheiren will probably confine its actions to a combination of education and demonstration. However, the organization models itself to some extent on the American civil rights movement, and its demonstrations could involve mass sit-ins. The next level of action would be strikes, a tactic that logically belongs to the young workers in AWYC and their strong supporters in Sohyo. Given the internal disputes, it is not likely that all Sohyo unions will join in anti-treaty strikes but those affiliated with Kankoro could alone play havoc with education, local government, transportation and communication. The Railway Workers' union has already committed its members to anti-treaty actions, and the huge Teachers' Union is expected to follow. Finally, some of the units in anti-CP Zengakuren can be expected to seek street confrontation. The students say that the events of Okinawa Day taught two important lessons: that large confrontations with police are ineffective and should be avoided, and that since confrontations are most successful when police are outnumbered, the best maneuver is to stage many simultaneous demonstrations. The students have also learned that Tokyo's subway and train stations are important targets. Most commuter trains in Japan's large cities run on loops encircling the urban center. If several stations are disabled or occupied along the loop, the entire system becomes paralyzed, leaving tens of millions of commuters stranded. Whatever the final mix of tactics, the government will find itself having to cope with three distinct movements that will use combinations of demonstrations, sit-ins, marches, strikes, street battles and urban guerrilla warfare.

None of the groups has planned beyond the "autumn struggle." They want to see what the government's reaction will be to this initial round of opposition. Most groups anticipate an unprecedented wave of counter-violence and repression, and are preparing themselves accordingly. Beheiren leaders expect to be jailed and militant workers expect to lose their jobs. The students fear even worse retaliation, including assassination at the hands of right-wing fanatics and gangs of criminals hired by the Security Police. Some of these fears may seem exaggerated, but Japan does have a history of political violence that has carried over into the postwar era. Also, many of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party's local political bosses and staunchest supporters are former "China *ronin*"—those men employed by the Imperial Army to organize the plunder of Asia. There is no solid evidence of recent illegal activities by these men, but their names are connected with enough sordid incidents to keep people wary. Most Zengakuren groups have sent their leaders underground, and many of the more notable joint struggle committee leaders have followed. Some units have taken the added precaution of stockpiling guns, an extremely difficult project in a country where firearms are outlawed.

The government has made no secret of its preparations. An initial precaution has been to fortify likely demonstration targets. In Tokyo these include the American Embassy, the Prime Minister's residence and the Diet building. The police have plans for mobilizing 85,000 men, most of whom are being rearmed and trained in riot control. The most controversial government preparations involve the Ground Self-Defense Forces (army). At Prime Minister Sato's request, the police agency, the metropolitan police director and the defense agency drew up plans for troop mobilization. The proposal, ready in June, called for stationing troops in the vicinity of large cities, and providing them with riot-control equipment and training. The plan also stipulated a schedule of troop deployment, starting with the use of troops in rear support of police, and moving up to "offensive action for suppression of rebels." As soon as this plan was set, the defense agency began to train several divisions in riot control at a base near Mount Fuji. There is also evidence that, if the anti-treaty movement is extremely large, the government will

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deputize civilian anti-riot patrols. These squads would probably be drawn from Japan's large corporations, many of whose employees have been sent for limited periods of martial training with the Self-Defense Forces. Incomplete figures show that more than 100,000 received this training in 1968. In addition to mobilizing police, troops and civilian squads, the government considers organizing pro-Sato-U.S. demonstrations for late November. The most subtle and expensive anti-Left operation will be the EXPO '70 world's fair to be held in Osaka. Woven into the government's fair publicity are such nationalistic themes as pride in Japan, overseas expansion, and Japan as the guiding light of Asia. Also quite explicit is the notion that 1970 should be a year of boundless support for the government.

The Japan police agency has estimated that the number of anti-treaty activists should reach half a million by May-June 1970. Based on past experience, the activists might well be supported by ten times that number. That is a substantial movement, but as many were involved in the 1960 opposition, to little avail. Therefore, the real test for the anti-treaty forces will be their ability to gain wide popular backing.

Extension of the treaty will not be debated or voted on in the Diet, and it will be up to the opposition to acquaint the public with the issues. However, even if the country at large does not fully grasp the main argument, certain tangent developments might bring it into the movement. If, for instance, there were to be a flare-up between local residents and a nearby U.S. base, or an explosion on a munitions train, or the crash of a military aircraft in a residential district, any of these could excite a popular anti-bases movement that would add weight to the anti-treaty protests. Stronger outcries could come if the United States refuses to set an Okinawa reversion date in the coming year. For that matter, any incident involving local citizens, a U.S. base, the visit of a U.S. nuclear-powered military vessel could set in motion the forces for another "Sasebo incident." Sasebo is a small Japanese port, where in January 1968, the visit of the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Enterprise* led to violent demonstrations in which the local populace joined with radical students against the police. Since that incident, there have been others. A question for 1970 is whether the anti-treaty movement will be able to create the Sasebo phenomenon on a nation-wide scale.

With all the indications pointing to a year of extreme upheaval, it is sobering to realize that most Left leaders do not believe they can force the abrogation of the security treaty. There is a consensus that, at best, a successful movement can accomplish the resignation of Sato and stem the government's drift to the right. As for Sato, his departure would not be seen as a permanent victory, since his government would undoubtedly be replaced by another conservative, pro-American LDP cabinet. And though the anti-treaty movement may be able temporarily to reverse the government's rightward trend, unless some dramatic alteration occurs in U.S.-Japan relations over the coming decade, the Left expects to be back for another try at "Ampo" in 1980.

BY ROAD AND RAIL

EXPLOSIONS EN ROUTE

SANDY MORRISON
Mr. Morrison has recently completed a book on explosions.

Each year, more and more explosions are occurring on the nation's railroads and highways.

Last January 15, a freight train crossed a broken switch near Springville, Ala., and derailed thirty of its cars, seven of them carrying liquified petroleum gas, or butane. One car exploded. In the twelve hours of spreading fire, two more cars exploded. More than a hundred people fled a mile to safety.

Only one week later a freight train derailed near Laurel, Miss., when one of its gondolas broke an axle and lost a wheel. A tank car containing 42,000 pounds of butane blew up, igniting flammable chemicals in other cars. In the holocaust of overturned cars and fire, two people died and thirty-eight were burned; eighty-five homes and eighteen business buildings were destroyed.

These were but two of forty explosions and accidents involving hazardous materials that have rocked the nation's railroads since 1964, and roused the public's fear and indignation. In Ohio, angry demonstrators compelled the Army to cancel a shipment of phosgene gas (used in World War I); in Detroit, officials of the Canadian Government prevented a trainload of phosgene from crossing Canada into New York; mayors of several Indiana towns complained of the numerous explosions and derailments that occurred in their state. And from all parts of the United States, letters have been beseeching Congressmen to do something about the accidents on the railroads.

Derailments cause more than half of these accidents, and they have been increasing steadily—from an average of 264 a month in 1964 to 457 a month in 1968. Thus far, fortunately, there have been no explosions or spilling of dangerous chemicals near large concentrations of population. But this luck is not apt to continue indefinitely, and any day could bring a major tragedy.

During the long decline of earnings after World War II, with much of their freight business lost to the long-distance trucks on the publicly subsidized highways, the railroads have gone slack on maintenance. Work crews were cut by more than one-half from 1960 to the present. Thus railroad ties are wearing out faster than they are

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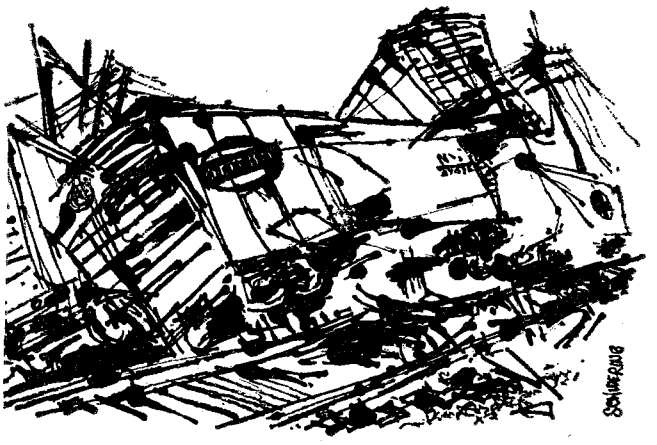
being replaced. (One official, in a newspaper interview on this condition, said: "Well, there's an awful lot of track out there.") Two railway bridges collapsed recently. Wheels and axles are breaking on freight cars; tracks are fracturing.

This deterioration of equipment seems to have spread to the work force. The incidence of accidents caused by negligence has risen steadily over the decade. The official accident reports of the Federal Railroad Administration, from which these data are taken, describes a derailment near Columbia, Pa., that occurred because the rail tie plates were loose; nearby was a bucket of tie spikes that seemed intended for these plates. A head-on collision took



place in New York when a frantic control-tower operator was unable to warn the engineers of the impending crash because neither man had his two-way radio turned on. The cases proliferate.

The rising frequency of such incidents has been aggravated in the past decade by an increase of freight-car capacity from 60 to 80 tons, and of their running speed from 60 to 70 miles an hour. Even modernization of rolling stock has contributed to the problem. Automobile carrier cars are so long that they have a weakness for uncoupling themselves; the new, longer box cars have, while traveling at high speed, set up harmonic undulations strong enough to rock their wheels from the tracks. The higher speeds and heavier loads have produced enough brake-generated heat to crack wheels.

The disaster potential in these accidents is raised by the marked increase of hazardous cargoes. When the first regulations for explosives were issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1908, there were only a few such commodities. Today, the Department of Transportation, which has taken over railroad regulations from the ICC, lists more than 900 dangerous materials. Our economy is permeated with the manufacturing and conversion of highly sophisticated, unstable chemicals. Since 1946, the chemical output of the United States has increased 350 per cent, much of it in hazardous substances. Excluding munitions, 1.8 billion pounds of commercial explosives were produced and shipped in 1968. In the same year, more than 1.3 billion pounds of butane were hauled over the nation's railways, which also carried 84,000 tons of anhydrous ammonia, as well as thousands of tons of chlorine, phosgene, hydrocyanic acid, etc. All these substances are perfectly safe while being transported; they are dangerous only when wrecked.

War materiel bound for Vietnam has added to the railroads' gamble with tragedy. At least five accidents in three years have involved freight trains carrying munitions. A derailment in North Carolina last year tossed 105 mm. smoke shells all over a school yard; no one was injured. On June 30 of this year, a freight hauling twenty-two cars of munitions in its string of seventy-one gondolas derailed near a freight station at Tobar, Nev. One munitions car blew up, strewing shells across the desert. Four people were injured.

Phosgene gas is always on the move somewhere. It is a weapon of war, but is also used commercially in the manufacture of plastics. A form of nerve gas, over which there was much outcry last spring, is also shipped in large quantities throughout the United States. Nerve gas was developed in pesticide research in Germany, before World War II. In the concentration that is shipped, one drop on human skin will cause death; diluted one pint to 500 gallons of water, it is used every growing season from one end of the country to the other.

Another highly dangerous compound is anhydrous ammonia, a common fertilizer. It is a drying agent, and will draw moisture from human tissue. On the morning of February 18, a derailing freight struck eight cars of a train on a siding in Crete, Neb. One of the struck cars ruptured, and anhydrous ammonia leaked onto a nearby farm. Nine people were killed and forty were injured by the fumes.

Of course, the overwhelming bulk of hazardous chemicals shipped by train does arrive safely, but the danger does not end at the terminal. Almost all rail freight is reshipped in smaller quantities by truck over crowded highways. In 1968 at least 100 explosions involving hazardous chemicals occurred on the nation's roads. Butane trucks have exploded in collisions, and so have gasoline trucks. Gasoline is the most common and therefore one of the most dangerous commodities. A passenger train struck a stalled gasoline tank truck at a grade crossing in Massachusetts and twelve passengers and two trainmen were burned to death. In Michigan a tank truck hauling gasoline was struck at a street corner and turned the intersection into a crematorium.

The situation is made more critical by land developers who put more and more population centers—commercial and residential—close to highways. Federal road planners abet this tendency by suggesting the advantage of using air space over highways for office buildings. If large buildings are to be erected over or near thruways, legislation should be written to divert hazardous materials to other, clearly defined roads. Large cities, among them New York, do compel explosive-laden trucks to give advance notice of their arrival and to travel under police escort on designated roads. But in most places these tremendous vehicles shoulder their way through heavy traffic.

This situation has also raised public alarm. Newspapers

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have lately called attention to H.R. 11870, a federal bill that would permit trucking firms to put still larger carriers on the highways. They would not only lower the safety margin for the passenger cars traveling with them but would increase the quantity of hazardous material subject to a single accident. Editors have been asking their readers to write to their Congressmen, urging the defeat of this measure.

The rising traffic in hazardous materials has been a challenge to the new Department of Transportation. Aware that accidents and explosions are increasing, it sought to have a bill introduced in Congress last year that would give it broad regulatory power over the railroads. House committee hearings on this legislation disclosed not only widespread dereliction on the part of the railroads and its employees but opposition by both management and union to any regulation. The Association of American Railroads always suspects government control, and now probably foresees that the proposed bill would add employees to the payrolls, just after they had been drastically reduced. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen fears it would lose its strike prerogative, and that licensing, similar to that of airplane pilots or truck drivers, would be forced upon it. Between them, these and other interests had some sixty amendments planned for the bill; as a result, it died in committee.

This session, nine bills for the regulation of safety on the railroads are before Congress. Chances are that none will come to a vote. A D.O.T.-sponsored bill will probably be presented and acted on, but only after it is drafted by a task force set up for that purpose. The department has called together representatives of the railroads, the employees and the state public utilities commissions and asked them to compromise their differences and make concrete proposals for safety legislation. Each concerned has much to gain. The railroads lost $250 million in 1968, just from destruction of equipment. The damage claims must add up to another startling figure. In the same year, 146 railroad employees were killed and 17,993 were injured in rail accidents of all kinds.

A hazard that worries the Office of Hazardous Materials, a bureau of the D.O.T., is the spontaneous explosion that can occur when two chemicals are brought together by chance. For example, nitrogen tetroxide has been hauled safely across the country in huge tank cars to fuel the Apollo and other rockets at Cape Kennedy. But a tank load of it will explode spontaneously if a handful of carbon dust is tossed into it. Again, a solid chemical widely used as fertilizer becomes a powerful explosive if mixed with a widely shipped liquid; it requires only a detonator to set it off. Dozens of other chemicals act similarly.

One mixture that went off with a bang on September 17 was the bringing together of transportation management with military experts in explosives. At the Army Ammunition Center in Savanna, Ill., the Office of Hazardous Materials sponsored a two-week seminar in the safe handling and transportation of dangerous products. The civilians were enthusiastic about what they learned from the military. Possibly some of this feeling will be channeled into support for much needed federal railroad safety legislation.

LETTERS *(Continued from page 362)*

lack of success for the first two years of his term in financially emasculating the state's colleges and universities was due, in large part, to the Democratic state legislature which refused to pass his tuition bills or agree with most of his proposed budget cuts. The fact that the legislature went Republican in 1968 is, in my view, one of the principal reasons that Ronald Reagan has now proposed—and will probably achieve—budget cuts of 20 per cent at both the University of California and the state colleges, accompanied by widespread turning away of qualified students. . . .

Public higher education will indeed be an issue in California in the 1970 campaign. Whether Mr. Reagan's political efforts will pay off, to his benefit, however, is far less certain. . . .

Jess Unruh, Assembly Democratic Leader

Pendleton

Glen Rock, N. J.

DEAR SIRS: If the situation at Pendleton brig ["The Pendleton Brig: Andersonville-by-the-Sea" by Robert G. Sherrill, *The Nation*, Sept. 15] is as bad as outlined, I feel that the Congress of the United States owes us an explanation. Why have no funds been appropriated for adequate facilities? Why is the Marine Corps so overextended by our Vietnam excursion that it is unable to adequately staff its brigs?

Unfortunately, I think I know Congress' answer before it has even been written: "National priorities do not permit us to operate effectively in those areas at present."

Prison conditions in much of the United States are substandard. Only when an aroused public demands prison reform will it be undertaken. I hope Sherrill's article will aid in that direction. . . .

John J. McCullough, Jr.

the Wobblies

Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIRS: May I point to three direct errors in Melvyn Dubofsky's piece on the IWW ["The Radical Goad"] in your labor issue of Sept. 8?

(*1*) Father Hagerty was not defrocked. (*2*) IWW advocacy of "one big union" has not prevented its use of appropriate bargaining units, usually all wage earners on the same job. (*3*) Since 1937 the IWW has permitted time contracts, with only this restriction: "No agreement made by any component part of the IWW shall provide for a check off of union dues by the employer or obligate the members of the union to do work that would aid in breaking any strike."

It is an additional distortion to picture IWW as consisting only of hungry migratory workers. We have been much concerned with these, and from them have developed some of our best organizers . . . but our membership has always included a sizable number of craftsmen and better paid and regularly employed workers. Reporters were less likely to find these in an IWW hall than men between jobs, but without them we could not have exerted the influence in the trade unions that we did. . . .

Fred Thompson

canny Nixon

Concord, Calif.

DEAR SIRS: President Nixon seems to be making considerable effort to stop marijuana usage. . . . This is shrewd politics. . . . Absurd as it may seem, probably more people in this country are concerned about marijuana than about the war in Vietnam. . . .

Meldon C. Belknap

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Forget About the First Amendment

THE TRIAL OF DR. SPOCK. *By Jessica Mitford. Alfred A. Knopf. 272 pp. $5.95.*

FRANK J. DONNER

Mr. Donner, a frequent Nation *contributor, is a New York attorney who specializes in constitutional law and civil liberties cases. He is the author of* The Un-Americans *(Ballantine).*

Jessica Mitford has written a superb account of the trial of the renowned baby doctor, Benjamin Spock, and his four co-defendants—Michael Ferber, Mitchell Goodman, Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., and Marcus Raskin—on a charge of conspiracy to "counsel, aid and abet" violations of the draft law. It is the best treatment I have seen of an American political trial.

Jessica Mitford not only sat through the trial and mastered its Byzantine intricacies; she came to know the defendants and their lawyers well and brilliantly portrays their varying styles, their crotchets and personalities. She also interviewed the prosecutors and Justice Department officials responsible for the prosecution, the court clerk, General Hershey and, most notably, three trial jurors.

Her chronicle is spare and selective but full of the essential facts. She has managed to eliminate the tedious and irrelevant, but never at the expense of the basic legal process through which the issues unfold. With the off-stage aid of her lawyer-husband, Robert Treuhaft, she lucidly explains complex legal doctrines like conspiracy and the complementary functions of judge and jury. A gifted writer, she makes the whole trial come to life—as though it were specially staged to provide raw material for her creative skill. Miss Mitford makes no bones about the fact that she regards the trial as an outrage, is fond of the defendants and wants you to like them too, and is appalled at the judge's systematic show of bias against the defendants and his attempts to influence the jury in the government's favor.

Modern political trials tend to border on the ludicrous. It is not merely that the ceremonial trappings have grown rather dingy and fail to evoke intended sentiments of respectful decorum or that our adversary system is so clumsy. A trial like Dr. Spock's, where the basic issue is speech and assembly, unfolds without the drama which redeems the conventional criminal trial. There are no dead bodies, violent acts, alibis, clever disguises. Here the government relied on half a dozen "overt acts" in furtherance of the alleged conspiracy which included a "Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority," holding a press conference, speeches and a confrontation with government officials. All of the claimed criminal activity was undisputed and highly publicized—most of it was televised.

The government had to mobilize all its resources to demonstrate the danger of such seemingly innocuous conduct. The central focus in a trial such as this is not the facts but the meaning of the facts, the inferences which could be drawn from them. The need to justify the overriding of constitutional restraints on the punishment of dissent forces the government to exaggerate the menace of the defendants' behavior—one of the less savory aspects of political justice in a democracy. The government's struggle in this case to clothe protected utterance with sinister meaning produced absurdities which were tailor-made for the author's comic gifts.

The contest over inferences is inevitably weighted in favor of the government—primarily because our society is incapable of sustaining a sturdy and skeptical opposition. Claims of a threat to important governmental interests are invariably viewed as more authentic than the assertion of the right of freedom. And the contest becomes almost hopeless when the charge is vague. Here the jury rejected the relatively precise charge that the defendants had conspired to "counsel" draft-law violations but found four of them guilty of the vague and elastic charge of conspiring to "aid and abet" such violations—a reliable clue to the way in which the government's hocus-pocus triumphed over the jurors' common sense.

The Spock trial was a political trial. The one circumstance which unifies and explains political justice is the nature of the decision to invoke legal process in the first instance. Who decided to initiate the Spock prosecution and why?

A decision to use the criminal law to attack opposition to a basic government policy is never made by a line prosecutor. Such a decision raises vital questions of formal constitutional law and, more important, political questions which require answers by higher-ups. What use will be made of such a decision by the political opposition? How will it strengthen the Administration's electoral prospects? Are the timing, form and scope of the prosecution politically wise? Beyond this, there is the root question of the risks involved, the most obvious of which is that a verdict unfavorable to the government, even a hung jury, might serve to legitimize the activity which is being prosecuted. In this instance a court defeat could have spelled the end of conscription. Finally, even if the technology of synthetic *Schreck* in the political trial process minimizes the risk of failure, the decision maker must consider whether he has the power to limit a conviction to its intended consequences—a rough problem in a fear-ridden, scapegoating society.

With stakes so high, it is hard to agree with the explanation advanced by the Department of Justice and apparently adopted by Miss Mitford about the genesis of the indictment in the *Spock* case. On October 26, 1967, following the demonstrations at the Pentagon, Selective Service Director Hershey notified the nation's draft boards that registrants who interfered with military recruiting or draft administration would be reclassified for immediate call-up. This recommendation, which had the force of law, was widely denounced as illegal, unsound and unconstitutional. Department of Justice lawyers early in November informed General Hershey that his ruling was invalid and that a proposed Executive order to enforce it would be unconstitutional.

Hershey stood by his guns and stated that his "recommendation" had been authorized by the White House and that he would withdraw it only on White House request. Thereafter, early in December—about a month before the indictment in the *Spock* case—pressure on the White House from a great variety of sources produced a "summit" statement by Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark and Hershey announcing the setting up of a special unit in the Department of Justice, speeding up investigations of draft-law violations. The statement was intended as a sort of peace treaty to supplant punitive reclassification with legal process and to assure concerned Americans that registrants' protests against the draft would be protected.

Jessica Mitford was informed by the chief of this newly created unit, John

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Van de Camp, that "The prosecution came about as a result of our flap with Hershey and his October 26 letter to the draft boards. The prosecution of these five was thought to be a good way out—it was done to provide a graceful way out for General Hershey."

Was it? To begin with, the suggestion that the decision to prosecute the Boston five was purely an internal departmental matter can hardly be squared with the political implications of such a proceeding. And if it resulted from a deal with Hershey, why did the General persist in his view, after the launching of the speed-up program and the filing of the indictment, that he had been authorized by the White House to make his ruling, that prosecutions were not a substitute for punitive reclassification, and that he would stand by his ruling until officially requested by the White House to withdraw it? And why did the White House remain silent?

An explanation far more consonant with the background facts and the changing political climate in the fall of 1967 is that the White House ordered the prosecution—not, as claimed, in a futile attempt to appease General Hershey—but as part of an all-out reversion to the politics of repression. And, as in the case of many of our most flagrant political prosecutions, Congressional pressure played a part.

On May 4, 1967, in the course of a hearing on amendments to the draft law, Chairman L. Mendel Rivers pointedly asked Assistant Attorney General Vinson how many prosecutions had been brought under the counseling, aiding and abetting provisions of the draft act. Vinson's reply that the First Amendment was a barrier to prosecution led to an outburst by the committee's hawks in the course of which Representative Herbert of Louisiana loudly urged, "Let's forget about the First Amendment." A few days later, Chairman Rivers returned to the attack and in the hearings charged that the Department of Justice was in collusion with federal judges to prevent the prosecution of those who preached defiance of the draft.

After the October Pentagon demonstrations, the demands for punishment of such conduct grew to a roar in Congress as scores of resolutions were prepared pressuring the department and charges of malfeasance were leveled against the Attorney General. In the fall of 1967, the President was making his own sympathies with the reactionaries increasingly clear.

Early in November, in a private briefing for Republican House leaders, President Johnson intimated that the Pentagon demonstrations were Red-inspired. In his report on the President's disclosure in the House, Republican Leader Gerald Ford added that he had been urged by Attorney General Clark not to release the information. Johnson subsequently overrode his Attorney General in a deal with the late Senator Dirksen to breathe new life into the Subversive Activities Control Board. At about the same time the administration, by-passing Clark, submitted to the Congress a measure severely limiting the right to travel. And on the very day that the Spock indictment was returned, J. Edgar Hoover's annual report was released, calling attention to the mounting resistance to the draft.

About a month after the indictment, in February of 1968, the President—again reversing Attorney General Clark—surrendered to the law and order forces on the wire tap and *Miranda* issues. He also endorsed the repressive anti-riot bill, passed in the House the previous year over the opposition of his Attorney General.

Although we have not yet heard from Ramsey Clark on the subject, the available evidence strongly supports the view that the initiative behind the Spock indictment was taken by the White House, not by the Department of Justice, and that it was part of the administration's repressive crackdown and sharp break with the Left-peace forces (chronicled in Eric Goldman's *The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson*).

It is not only the context of the decision to prosecute Spock and his co-defendants which illuminates its source. The fact that a *conspiracy* indictment was brought confirms that the prosecution was not the result of a routine law-enforcement decision within the Justice Department. The conventional law-enforcement reasons for a conspiracy charge were dubious here. But conspiracy was indispensable if political considerations were uppermost.

The conspiracy charge is the hallmark of American political justice. It yields the greatest return of repression for the smallest investment of power. Consider the politically significant identity of the five alleged conspirators. A peace activist (Dr. Spock), a student (Michael Ferber), a leading anti-war cleric (the Reverend Coffin), a writer (Mitchell Goodman) and a political intellectual (Marcus Raskin). In one package the indictment wraps up representatives of the leadership groups in the U.S. peace movement. To be sure, the defendants hardly knew one another and their guilt was predicated on constitutionally dubious theories of parallel action. All this meant was that the convictions might be reversed on appeal. (So they were: on July 12 Spock and Ferber were found not to be co-conspirators by the appellate court while Goodman and Coffin were granted new trials. A dissenting judge contended that all the defendants should have been acquitted. Raskin had been freed by the jury.) The decision to proceed on a shaky conspiracy charge in spite of the manifest risks of appellate reversal and the development at the trial of the theory that *anyone* who encouraged, aided or abetted the charged conspiracy (the "diverse other persons" referred to in the indictment) shared in the conspiratorial guilt can only be explained in terms of the felt political need for a means of intimidating anti-war protesters on a broad scale.

In her final chapter, Miss Mitford concludes that the cards are stacked in political trials: the costs both in personal and social terms are cruel and indefensible. Justice is simply not possible in a political case. In all the political trials of this century the accused were swept off the boards because they were dissenters; what eased the path to conviction were "the popular fears and prejudices of the moment." The Boston five, Miss Mitford concludes, were victims of our anxiety about "law and order."

CAMPUS ROTC

All love is under-
ground—at a drive-in movie,
motels, even in

city swimming pools:
on car seats, beds, in water
the pill or condom

or empty bleachers'
Saran Wrap cannot order
a total defense

against a love-in.
It can happen in books too,
hard words pulling us

down, stripped to the bone.
Hand manuals do not hold
or the snake, gliding:

such risky affairs,
in Asia under the moon,
in ditches and swamps

and dark rice paddies,
officers wade to signal
triggers, bayonets

thrusting; it's worse than
attack aborted, retreat
to the held belly

of a hill before
the loss and the dying, where
love is underground.

PHILIP LEGLER

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East Asian Backgrounds

IDEOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION IN COMMUNIST CHINA. *By Franz Schurmann. University of California Press. 642 pp. $12.50. Paper $4.95.*

VIETNAM: THE ORIGINS OF REVOLUTION. *By John T. McAlister, Jr. Alfred A. Knopf. 377 pp. $7.95.*

C. P. FITZGERALD

Mr. FitzGerald teaches Far Eastern history at Australian National University. He is the author most recently of Concise History of East Asia *(Praeger).*

The first of these books deals with recent and contemporary China, the second with the origins of the revolutionary war in Vietnam. In detail they do not cover the same ground, but in their general illumination of the problems of East Asia they complement each other. They lead to the reflection that if the makers of policy in China and Vietnam had known as much about the history of East Asia as they, as educated men, knew of the history of Europe and America, they would have been saved from committing many grave errors. It is inestimable what the world would have been saved.

The new edition of Professor Schurmann's work contains a supplement which covers the period from 1961 to 1967, the period of the present Cultural Revolution. The original edition was, as the author points out, essentially a description of Chinese Communist society as it was in the 1950s. It has been an invaluable tool for the research and study of China. Now the new edition with its supplement carries the same penetrating analysis down to the middle year of the Cultural Revolution. The book is divided into sections on Ideology and on Organization in various aspects: Party, Government, Management, Control, Cities and Villages. Each of these explores in depth the operation of the Chinese Communist system, the variations that passing years have produced, and the ways in which Chinese Communist practice differs from that of the USSR.

Chinese ideology stresses the importance of thought—the thought of leaders, Mao Tse-tung being the most significant. Theory without such thought as an interpreter is meaningless. Theory is unchanging, but thought is adaptable. The Russians believe that theory can be creatively developed, i.e., changed; this the Chinese deny. "There is no equivalent of thought (*szuhsiang*) in the Soviet ideological arsenal . . . the Russians . . . appear never to have understood the need for a basic transformation of the spiritual identities of individuals in organization." Professor Schurmann traces the consequences of this ideological difference through the varying activities of party and state, including the field of relations with other revolutionary Communist parties abroad. "Though they support pro-Communist movements, they do not organize them, as the Comintern organized Communist parties in the 1920's." This may be news to some of the statesmen in Western countries who attribute all revolutionary activity in underdeveloped countries to Chinese machinations.

Schurmann clarifies many underlying conflicts and changes of policy in the years of the Communist regime. For example, the management of industrial enterprises: Soviet models and the One Man Management system were found to

ELEGY FOR IKE EISENHOWER

1.

Crazy Horse
they said
had a sacred
vision stone
he carried
it
grew very heavy
and wore out his horses
under him
one after another
and it protected
him

when he was killed
in a roomful
of soldiers
what happened to
that magic stone?

his body was
grass real grass
on the plains
swept away
by the farm wagons

2.

Ike turns to Crazy Horse
inside the dark coffin
crowding you Chief?
no sir we got room
for lots more of
your color down
here General
about this land, Horse,
I'd like to say right now
we're awful sorry,
but don't think
(pardon my
elbow while I
shift my hip)
we haven't paid for it—
no sir! we've paid with
problems a plenty
so I hear *says*
the chief wary
wondering what comes
next what
touch But—
(yes here it is
Crazy Horse nods
to himself) we're all
americans now
and that's why
(to go on) this
rather odd request:
one of my senior officers
in Paris collected
scalps well locks of
hair really. now I'd like
to be able to take him back
a really distinctive
little souvenir
of this beautiful country
Ike *says the young Indian*
who died from a bayonet
run into the side you see
this knife *(producing it*
magically out of his
deathrobe) I've always wanted me
five of those little
brass stars *and he cuts them*
one by one like berries
from Ike's epaulettes
and five for my old man
a holy man a poet
a leader among my people
all the same man
Here try one *he says*
biting into one of the stars
they're cool like chocolate
mint wafers *Ike demurs*
my teeth you know

smoke? *don't mind if I do.*
so they lie there
smoking the one
pipe comfortably
the rest of the journey

JOHN RIDLAND

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be inconsistent with Chinese methods and were finally replaced by party committees. (This system in turn showed many weaknesses at the time of the Great Leap Forward. A more recent tendency is to give enterprise managers the duty of furnishing the precise information which the more politically minded party men cannot provide.) Much the same story, early imitation of Soviet models and later introduction of methods more in accordance with Chinese ways of action, is found in the history of "Control," the activities by which the party and the state supervise the population and maintain themselves in power.

In the introduction to the supplement Schurmann says that if he were to give the book a new title he would call it "Ideology, Organization and Society in China." The original title reflected the importance then assigned to Ideology and Organization and to the fact of China's being a Communist state. Now, "due weight must be given to the resurgence of the forces of Chinese society. The adjective Communist must also be dropped. This does not mean that China has ceased to be Communist but that its communism has undergone a major transformation as the result of the Cultural Revolution." The conflict between Soviet and Chinese conceptions of ideology and organization is so basic that the single word, "communism," will no longer do to describe the two systems. Schurmann sees China as "more its national self than ever before in the history of the People's Republic . . . in its internal constitution its Chinese character is more than ever evident." This is the clearest and most penetrating explanation of the nature of the Cultural Revolution and the fundamental causes of the Sino-Soviet dispute, the two factors which have convulsed the Communist world and which portend great changes in international power relations.

The supplement analyzes this transformation. Many acute observations which the ordinary reader could easily miss in his day-to-day study of the news are brought to light. There is for example, no personalization of Mao Tse-tung in the sense that he is not shown as a hero. No Chinese biographies have been published; he remains remote as a personality to his devoted followers. "No one instructs them to emulate the life of the Chairman." They are urged to study his writings. It is the "wisdom" of Mao which has immortality, not the living man who must before long pass away.

An important aspect of the Cultural Revolution is the question of how far it was a response to China's fear of a coming war. Mao himself had spread the idea of imminent danger of war in early 1966. (This was the period of intensive bombing of North Vietnam, including the suburbs of Hanoi and Haiphong.) The leaders first purged, including Lo Jui-ch'ing and P'eng Chen, were militant advocates of active resistance to "American Imperialism." Schurmann believes that Mao Tse-tung opposed them because the Cultural Revolution, which he regarded as the next leap forward for Chinese society, would have been forestalled by the possibility of war. Hence Lo, P'eng and then Liu Shao-ch'i, all of whom had been "hawks," were the principal targets of the Cultural Revolutionary purge. It is a new perspective on the role of Mao Tse-tung to see him as the man who may have saved the world from another major war. This interpretation will be disputed by many; but they will have to refute the strong case which Schurmann presents.

Mr. McAlister's book does not treat the recent history of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. He is concerned with the era of French colonial rule, the Japanese occupation and the first years of the postwar epoch. The history ends in 1946 with the French committed to their attempt to crush Vietnamese revolution. McAlister analyzes the development of the political and social situations which made revolution first possible, then inevitable. Under colonial rule the old power structure had been debased and rendered impotent; and the new elite of French-educated, modern-minded men who were trained to replace it was denied opportunity to exercise its talents or to influence the political life of Vietnam.

McAlister traces the failure of the pre-revolutionary protest movements. Some were futile attempts to restore the fallen independent monarchy; others, inspired by the new nationalism, were too local and too poorly organized to make any deep impression on the mass of the Vietnamese people. Only the Communists, led by Ho Chi Minh, learned from their own and others' errors, and gradually produced a widespread organization reaching down to the peasants.

As elsewhere, the mistakes of the rulers were as much responsible for the success of the revolution as the revolution's own efforts. The Japanese, seeing the end of their domination approaching, fumbled between differing policies, at times encouraging revolution, at other times backing reaction. The French were determined to restore their authority, though they had serious disagreements over method. Had the Vietnamese people been readier and better united, they might have won independence at one stroke in 1945; but they were frustrated by the effects of long-standing political divisions rooted far back in their history and deliberately enhanced by French colonial policy. Revolution was successful in the North, partial in the center and largely failed in the South.

The belief in two Vietnams, one assailing the other in a spirit of aggressive nationalism, the myth which has so long obscured the Vietnamese reality, was founded in great part on the French creation of "Cochin-China" (a term un-

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known to the Vietnamese language and tradition) in what is now the core of South Vietnam. This region, centered on Saigon, was annexed outright to France. The old educated class, "the Mandarins," were almost completely replaced by the new French-educated class, which was without close contacts with the peasantry. Among the people, where old Confucian "mandarin" values were weak, there arose the sects, Cao Dai, Hoa Hao and others, including a fairly large number of converts to Roman Catholic Christianity. Almost all of these sects (except perhaps the Catholics) were opposed to the French rule, but there their unanimity stopped. Localism, the desire to attain a strictly local power in the districts where their followers predominated, was more powerful than any urge to national unity. These factors inhibited the growth of the Communist Party, which in the South was led by men of more doctrinaire outlook than that of Ho Chi Minh.

The center, the old Protectorate of the Empire of Annam, the region where some vestiges of monarchical authority were allowed to exist, and which now forms the northern provinces of South Vietnam, was in spirit and tradition, as in its form of government, sharply divided from French Cochin-China. The North, the Tongking of French times, was the ancient center of the Vietnamese people, the most heavily populated region; adjoining China, it was the heart of the revolutionary movement. These differences in region have counted for much in the long course of the Vietnamese revolution, but, as McAlister shows, they do not add up to "two nations"—or three. At least equally profound local differences existed in Nationalist China, between North, center and South. Yet revolution in China was ultimately everywhere victorious. The stimulus to the growth of the Communist movement which was imparted in Vietnam by French intervention on behalf of weak opponents was paralleled in China by the effects of the Japanese occupation and the attempts to set up regional puppet governments. It may be that revolution in both countries would have ultimately triumphed for social and economic reasons; but it is probable that the single common factor of foreign intervention and domination did much to speed up the process. Nationalism was forced into alliance with communism and finally absorbed within the revolutionary movement.

McAlister emphasizes the role of mass organization, grass-root contact, and the participation of the peasantry in the actual work of government as the fundamental strength of the revolutionary movement. A people whose traditional political life at all levels had been virtually destroyed could only be led to respond to a movement which gave them a new political structure at the village level. This is what the purely Nationalist parties have failed to do. The reason for this failure appears to be the unwillingness of urban rulers to yield power in any measure to the peasants. The introduction of a representative democratic system would have put power into the hands of the party which could rely on peasant support, i.e., the Communist Party. This is why no democratic system was tolerable to Nationalist politicians. However, had the French recognized the situation and decided, at the Japanese surrender, to establish as fast as possible genuine representative institutions, and then withdraw, power might not have passed so wholly to the Communists. The French policy of playing off one sect against another in order to secure French authority over all ended by discrediting every alternative and leaving the Communists as the sole and obvious champions of true independence.

The Communists attribute French mistakes to the economic interests of capitalist groups and their unwillingness to give up a privileged position. The Viet Minh represents itself as a party dedicated to the interests of the people and therefore ultimately sure of victory. This may be too simple. In Vietnam the force of national feeling and resentment against foreign domination have long predated the existence of the Communist Party. The Vietnamese people were for a thousand years under Chinese rule. They took much from China, as they have taken much from France, but they never lost the will and intention to drive out the foreigner when the chance came—and they succeeded. The Chinese then recognized that the Vietnamese were best left to rule themselves and that, too, was a thousand years ago. One can only hope that the lesson will this time be learned rather more swiftly.

The new approach to the problems of revolution which these two books exemplify gives some stronger grounds for optimism. It is not now possible to plead ignorance of the nature, history and inspiration of the revolutionary movement in East Asia. Schurmann has shattered the image of the conspiratorial Communist monolith. And McAlister has demolished the idea that the Vietnamese War is but a simple case of one sovereign independent power making an aggressive onslaught on another. His historical analysis shows it to be, quite clearly, a revolutionary civil war.

Thrashing With Doom

VIOLENCE AND GLORY: Poems 1962-1968. *By James Schevill. The Swallow Press. 148 pp. $6.50.*

L. ALAN GOLDSTEIN
Mr. Goldstein is the editor of LOS. *His poetry and fiction have appeared in several literary magazines.*

James Schevill is best known for *The Stalingrad Elegies*, a sequence of dramatic monologues adapted from letters sent home by Nazi soldiers during the Stalingrad siege, and from Schevill's own conversations with German survivors. Those plain-spoken poems offer images as ghastly and memorable as any war poetry on record: the soldier who makes a snow-woman—

Her ice was my desire
Her white perfection
Glittered in my eyes,
white breasts
white thighs

the legless amputee "like a chessman with a flat bottom/Moved across a board to the edge"; and the motorcycle courier driving through bandaged skeletons and "snow that's set on fire with blood."

Authenticity held the *Elegies* under control, and a respectful sympathy for the real people who had to endure those wounds of body and mind. The poetry is in the pity, Wilfred Owen said; the *Elegies* were not a conqueror's pity, or a victim's, but that Homeric mode that makes reader and speaker appallingly at home together in the worst possible world.

Schevill's new collection, *Violence and Glory*, extends the grotesquerie of war to its aftermath. Found material replaces Nazi documents to authenticate a peculiarly American confusion between peace and its opposite. As Schevill reads it in his "Ad Sound History" (a poem meant to be performed by voice) any popular magazine expresses in its advertisements our disabling syndrome. Nostalgia:

EARLY TIMES
——you can say that again—
Ear-ly Times. . .
true old style
—(you can say THAT again)——
Ear-lee tiii-mmmesss. . .

and an aggressive love of power:

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be-lowww its trees!
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where it's
gro-wing
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The dark side of America's infatuation with its own past is what interests Schevill. He rides the mass American psyche like a bronco, registering all its passionate jolts and kicks for total liberation. Verse form sways with backward and forward movements: the burning of Charlie Mingus' bass; destruction crews on the Pacific Coast Highway; homosexual fantasies: the fondness of garbage men for expensive trash; the fame and suicide of Marilyn Monroe:

The pictures always laugh,
As your bust bursts
out of its dress.
Fame strips you naked
And you cannot sleep;
life is a peep-
Show; the psychiatrist
Gives you a new prescription;
stronger sleeping pills
need stronger wills.
"Fame will go by
And,
so long,
I've had you,
fame."

In the long title monologue, "The Violence and Glory of the American Spirit," the speaker is Barney Stetson, a 90-year-old castoff watching the John Kennedy funeral on TV in a run-down hotel room. He returns in fantasy to the joys of his American childhood, and regrets how coming of age diverted him into an egotistic competition for glory and celebrity, a typical rivalry linking him with American Presidents and their assassins:

Murder for murder, a peaceful people
always
Breaking out in civil violence, seeking
glory
Until the violence and the glory tangle
Tight together . . . When Guiteau was
hanged,
People in the crowd paid three hundred
dollars
A head to hear him yell, "Glory!
Glory! Glory!"
As he fell through the trap . . .

Barney suspects dimly that the whole impulse of American history is murder and waste, but finally assents to the rightness of that social contract, envious of the deadly energy of the young.

Violence and Glory concludes with some verse biographies, a genre Schevill used with fitful success in his first collection, *Private Dooms and Public Destinations*. The final sequence in the book, "The Death of Anton Webern," reconstructs the accidental shooting of Webern by an American soldier in the last days of World War II. Artist, assassin, and everyone related to them both confess their mind in separate monologues as agents of an absurd misunderstanding. Like Webern's compositions, the single poems are short and make much use of significant pauses, brief intimations, strains of harmony and dissonance.

Symbolically, Webern's death in 1945 inaugurated our blind contemporary thrashing with doom. Old Barney Stetson had his frontier dream; Schevill suggests that nobody this side of 90 has the right to look backward beyond Stalingrad and the whimsical murder by American soldiers of a great composer. Webern's last words, we are reminded by this concluding poem, were, "It's over. . . ."

Book Marks

SARA BLACKBURN

FAT CITY. *By Leonard Gardner. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 183 pp. $5.50.*

Stockton, Calif., and the world of small-time boxing provide the setting for this tough, swift, compassionate first novel about two young prize fighters. Gardner shows great skill at evoking a sense of small-town America and that peculiarly American joylessness of an empty present made bearable only by vague hopes for the future. All his characters, black and white, ring absolutely true; and at least one of them—a Mexican fight manager—is really memorable. This book, particularly the passages about the fight world, marks Gardner as one of the most interesting and talented new novelists around today.

AGAPITO. *By Alvaro Cardona-Hine. Charles Scribner's Sons. 117 pp. $4.50.*

The author is a Costa Rican poet who has lived in this country for some years; his novel is a 7-year-old Costa Rican boy's description of his world, addressed to and through the life of his father's peon, Agapito. It consists of a series of mushy metaphors which completely overwhelm the few which are unaffected and potentially moving. After pages of such observations as: "Our cows are islands of spice, full of a hidden vanilla that flows white in an avalanche of grace, under theories of maternity," one wishes that desperately poor, brave, sorrow-wracked Agapito would turn his young admirer over his knee and spank the maddening innocent sensitivity out of him. Such sentimental, gratuitous writing about the nobility of poverty is anachronistic, to say the least.

A BETTING MAN AND OTHER STORIES. *By Brian Glanville. Coward-McCann. 223 pp. $5.95.*

If Mr. Glanville's many novels are not always particularly substantial, they are almost always highly entertaining, and this collection of his short stories is thus disappointing. The backgrounds include middle-class Jewish life in London, sports, and expatriate life in Italy, but almost all of the stories move smoothly over tired plots hinged on predictable formula endings. The title story, about the sad pleasures of a rich and disappointed middle-aged London Jew, is the most engaging, but all have been written too often before by better hands.

A FAMILY ROMANCE. *By Richard Wollheim. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 255 pp. $5.95.*

This cleverly conceived and very well-written novel should be more absorbing than it turns out to be, and it's hard to say quite why. An English economist records in his diary the details of his re-

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lationships with X, his morose wife, and Y, his mistress. The proceedings are dominated by his unresolved relationship with his eccentric father, whose influence permeates his life in a manner which leaves him almost helpless. It gets very complicated; but the tension that sustains our early interest in its wordy, introspective narrator gradually fades away as his total humorlessness neutralizes even its calculated-to-shock ending. There is one fine, funny scene, which simply records an evening's conversation among a group of important, upper-class nitwits.

THE MOVEMENT. *By Norman Garbo. William Morrow & Co. 407 pp. $6.95.*

The Movement is a big, commercial novel, and not a good one: its plot follows the already tired scenario of rebellion at a large university; its characters are the usual assortment of passionately confused student radicals (here led by a mulatto), diabolically good revolutionaries, and absurdly stupid administrators; it ends in disaster when the rebel-held campus is bombed to the ground by U.S. Army jets. Mr. Garbo believes that the heroes of America are the people of the movement, and he believes this resolutely enough to make some of his writing impassioned. But until better writers who share his point of view—where are they?—address themselves to his theme, and until those who sympathize with the movement demand that the writers they read relate to it, the popular view of the New Left will have to be shaped by such well-meaning melodramas as this one.

MUSIC / David Hamilton

The performance of second-rate operas is attended by numerous hazards, as we shall probably have ample opportunity to learn if the resident opera companies continue to stage inferior 19th-century works. Prime exhibits in this area have long been the concert performances in which the American Opera Society revives obscure operas, usually with one or two stars (sometimes very capable singers and musicians) surrounded by a supporting cast ranging from capable to inept. On the rare occasions when all the leading roles are properly cast and a conductor of quality is engaged, a convincing case is made for the work revived, but the usual result is a musical shambles, from which only the soprano cultists come away satisfied: "Oh, the piece is a bore, but *she* was divine!"

One of the operas that came off well in such a concert performance was Boito's *Mefistofele,* performed by the Society in 1966, and it may have been this performance that inspired the New York City Opera's current revival, especially when coupled with the obvious suitability of the title role for Norman Treigle. Unfortunately, the factors that put the opera across in Carnegie Hall—the voices and stylistic feeling of Renata Tebaldi, Carlo Bergonzi and Nicolai Ghiaurov, and the taut direction of Lamberto Gardelli—are in short supply at the City Opera. One great bass is not sufficient to carry a flawed work, and the moral of the experience should be that you must pick your second-rate operas with care, especially avoiding the ones that require what the other company has and you don't.

It remains a mystery why the Metropolitan, with its fondness for such resplendent specimens of the third-rate as *Gioconda* and *Andrea Chenier,* and its roster of suitable singers, has not staged Boito's opera since 1926. The work has the reputation of being "intellectual," but this is surely a relative term, the result of comparing the libretto with the cozy domestic tragedy that Gounod made from Goethe's *Faust*; it can hardly represent a serious claim to stature alongside the operas of, say, Wagner or Berg. Although he preserves a modicum of Goethe's broader philosophical content by including the Prologue in Heaven and something of Part Two (the Classical Sabbath and Epilogue), Boito's libretto is awkwardly constructed, full of static tableaux—the Easter celebrations of the Frankfurt citizens, the two Sabbaths—that occupy far too much time in relation to the drastically abridged drama. Indeed, one would hardly have expected the author of this text to go on to write two of the greatest librettos in history, those for Verdi's *Otello* and *Falstaff.*

And Boito is a curious sort of composer, whose sophistication is almost entirely harmonic; his melodic construction is tortuously bound to scale and arpeggio patterns, worked out in monotonously regular sequences and further hampered by the incessant repetition of very short rhythmic patterns. At the evening's start, the Prologue in Heaven offers the kind of consistently smooth interlocking of elements that marks the naturally gifted composer; the orchestral introduction, built on a symmetrical rather than functional harmonic plan, is an ingenious solution to the representation of timeless infinity, and must have been especially striking in 1868. Later in the Prologue, another effective harmonic idea is built to a really compelling choral climax, but the expectations thus raised early in the opera are rarely satisfied thereafter—and then most notably by the reprise of this same climax at the end. Fortunately, the idea is good enough to repeat (or, perhaps, because nothing between is nearly as good we welcome the return of the evening's best inspiration), but other motifs, such as the little major-minor third idea that introduces Mefistofele, are so trivial that they are quickly worn out by countless undeveloped reiterations.

Characteristically, one of the high points, the "Lontano" duet in the prison scene, has hardly any melodic content whatsoever; it is simply a canny harmonic progression overlaid with a repetitive (but, this once, effectively so,) lullaby rhythm. And many other "melodic" spots sound as if they were arrived at simply by picking notes from a series of chords that had been determined first. In sum, the level of invention is perilously thin throughout great stretches of the score, and only sumptuous voices, brilliant orchestral playing (there is some very distinctive scoring) and tight, skillful pacing will maintain interest.

These ingredients were, unfortunately, rarely present in the City Opera production. Although the official première (September 24) had been preceded by a public "preview," the orchestral ensemble was still very shaky, and a persistent disagreement between the conductor and his star bass on the subject of tempo did not attest to an optimum amount of rehearsal. (My sympathies were with Treigle's faster options, for a large part of the performance was slack, but such

OCTOBER

Shadows gnaw the wind;
wind questions the sun.
Children run
from shadows to the shadow of wind.

What climbs the ravine?
The stream drops down,
dragging dead leaves down.
I have lost the sun in a leaf screen.

There are stars behind the sky.
A leaf explores a dead shrew
drowned in a shoal,
nudging sleek hide: play.

There had been meadow afternoons.
Now darkness climbs the drugged moon
while that which climbs comes.
Winds downstream whisper leaf names.

JOHN UNTERECKER

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matters should be settled long before the curtain rises.) Among the singers, only Treigle measured up to the musical and dramatic demands of the work, although he was hampered by producer Tito Capobianco's curious conception of the devil as a cringing, sexually frustrated creature, an idea totally at odds with Boito's straightforwardly sardonic character. Robert Nagy, for some years a comprimario tenor at the Metropolitan, made a loud and unsubtle Faust, moving awkwardly and sometimes shaky in his intonation. The roles of Margherita and Elena (Helen of Troy, in the Classical Sabbath episode) were doubled by Carol Neblett, an attractive girl with a potent if undisciplined voice, who has not yet mastered the kind of vocal acting and textual projection needed to sustain the reminiscence episode in the prison scene. (If Miss Neblett can resist the pressure to sing heavy roles too soon, she may, with work and discipline, become an important singer; otherwise, a few premature years of leading roles, in which the sheer tonal quality will suffice to impress a relatively undiscriminating audience, will be the likely extent of her career.)

Visually, this was an affair of projections, with hardly any solid scenery. It started off well, each ascent of the Introduction's harmonies being articulated by a different lighting effect: flashing colored lights, shooting stars, nebulae, astrological symbols, and eventually a *quattrocento* Deity, Virgin and angels—but the later musical climax was not matched by any corresponding visual activity. The scenes on earth were spare and conventional, the whole lacking the style and consistency of other Capobianco productions. As with the musical performance, undernourishment seemed the trouble, whereas *Mefistofele*, both musically and visually, requires a degree of feasting.

The courage of the New York Philharmonic in pursuing the acoustic modifications required at Philharmonic Hall, even when the initial adjustments offered little improvement, has been rewarded at last with something close to real success. The first concert (September 23) was inconclusive with respect to the "19th-century" sound that has traditionally been the backbone of the orchestra's repertory; works by Debussy, Copland (the Clarinet Concerto, brilliantly played by Stanley Drucker) and Prokofiev reached the audience with great presence and clarity of detail, if a little hardness of sound at climaxes. Two nights later, a more conventional program confirmed the impression that the "wrong end of the telescope" effect has been eliminated, so that the full orchestra now makes a real physical impact on the listener. A slight glassy edge remains in the loudest passages, and the bass still sounds weak from the floor seats (it always used to be better in the top balcony, and I suspect that now the cheapest seats should give a very satisfactory aural perspective). I hope the management will make whatever small additional effort is needed.

FILM FESTIVAL

HAROLD CLURMAN

Apart from its audience and its pleasantly sedate new locale, the Alice Tully Hall at Lincoln Center, the Seventh New York Film Festival has not been particularly festive. There is a kind of gaiety about the crowds that gather to see the mostly offbeat novelties. They constitute the most sophisticated and receptive audience among the entertainment marts. It has a sense of occasion. It is eager to learn what is going on; it *expects* something.

But how is one to find gratification in so much dreariness? Conformity in exhaustion was the hallmark in many of the eleven films I managed to see during the first ten days. I do not complain that they were weighed down by pain; in one form or another, unhappiness is the matrix and subject matter of dramatic art. But it has been repeated to the point of nausea that we are living in total disarray in an anguished world.

Advanced circles betray an almost ritualistic complacency in this regard. If the now-I-lay-me-down-to-die dirge were proclaimed in fury, sung in eloquent tides of indignation, or were issued out of a true caring, one might be moved to compassion. But no: the message of debility is enunciated in opaque allegories, in lackluster conundrums.

Tragedy is based on confrontation, not on collapse. In the defeat which most frequently ensues upon such confrontation a surge of will and desire produces action and provides humanity with its most wonderful adventures and greatest satisfactions. But the films I refer to are notorious for their lack of surface interest. They ignore the stuff of experience, and their generalizations do not arise from what has been lived through; they are instead abstract declarations of impotence—which we are expected to take for granted as the truth about *la condition humaine*.

The pictures I followed with the least impatience were in some respects the simplest, or to put it bluntly the most realistic. The Japanese *Boy* will serve as an example. The story is based on a case—reported by the police—of a "family" which earns its living by having its woman (or "mother") and the 12-year-old "son" pretend to be knocked down by passing vehicles whose frightened drivers they then blackmail into paying them money to avoid being hauled into court.

The film displays the mushrooming, man-eating industrialism of the new Japan, and within it an injured, twisted, confused people abruptly divested of its traditions of honorable deportment. This sudden cultural deformation is reflected in the three main characters, and chiefly in the boy. He has been separated from his original family and adopted by a foster father who, having been wounded in the war, has no further capacity or willingness to work and has invented the aforementioned means of supporting himself, his mistress and the boy.

The boy tries to escape the brutality of his job by returning to his home in the south where one of his grandparents still lives. This childhood home has become an idealized memory, but when the boy is prevented from making the long journey, he returns to his surrogate father and mother once more to ply the family "business." We see him dream of becoming or being redeemed by a "space man"; we see him rebel futilely and yet cling loyally to the wretched man and woman and his infant "brother"—the child of the adopted parents. We know at the end—when the trio has been arrested—that though he now is legally a "criminal," the tormented boy (who says he has no "thoughts" about anything) is still moved by the memory of a little girl he had not previously seen, lying dead in the northern snow, killed in an accident caused by one of his tricky

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attempts to be knocked over by a truck.

Boy is certainly not a "great" or a "perfect" picture, but besides saying something about a specific environment it leads us to know something about family feeling even in the absence of family, and about the tenderness inherent even in degraded folk. It is not a pleasant picture but contact with it is somehow warming because it is made from the stuff of life, and is not an intellectual generalization about it.

I could also see *Adalen '31* without flinching as I did from the inhuman coldness of most of the more "experimental" exhibits. It deals with a strike which took place in a small Swedish town in 1931, an old-fashioned propaganda film sweetened by the director Bo Widerberg's use of suave color, his casting of pretty people with *good* faces, his gently sentimental humor and airy pastel sensuality. Someone described *Adalen* as a fairy tale of industrial strife. The strife is on the whole minimized and there is a certain note of self-congratulation for the Socialist government which took over from the conservatives after the strike. However, a wry reminder is added in a final "title" which tells us that "equality has not yet been achieved." Widerberg is a softy with a considerable gift for soothing pictorial effects.

There is much sterner stuff in *The Joke*, a Czech picture which must have been made under the now suppressed liberal regime. It tells of an embittered man, once a skeptical Communist, who under the Gottwald government was sent to a labor camp for "correction" (he had made a cynical remark in a letter to his girl friend about optimism being the opiate of the people, and he had betrayed a defiant inclination toward Trotskyism).

He has come to hate his country and, unlike several of his former friends, cannot reconcile himself to it. He is not made attractive or sympathetic—only understandable. We are given to understand that his vindictiveness against the individuals who have hurt him is wrong, but that his animus against the blind and blinding bigotry, the punitive self-righteousness of the earlier government, is justified. This story of Czechoslovakia's past, depicted in the light of the more promising interlude, has by the new turn of history become the portrait of a depressing present. The acting and direction of *The Joke* have a kind of down-to-earth honesty and a feeling for the natural behavior of ordinary people which are characteristic of Czech films.

The hurt felt by those who have endured the rigors of various police states is evident in another Czechoslovak film (more Slovak than Czech), *The Deserter and the Nomads*, which was completed—and no wonder—in Italy. Despair with the cruelty of political upheaval—whatever the cause—is the theme. It ends on a semi-religious lament over all hostilities which lead to bloodshed. The most befriending aspect of this picture—alternately garish and lovely in color—is its confusion! The director, Juro Jakubisco, realizes that violence is also human, and strives to accept this fact as part of the whole drama of existence, but he still yearns for the promise of surcease from it. At moments one suspects that this can come about only through total annihilation of the species, or through some miraculous advent of a second Eden. Jakubisco has trouble bringing his picture to a close, torn as he is by the various drives which have inspired it. The most potent of these is a love for the hearty carnality of his Slovak compatriots and the beauty of his country's landscape.

Wretchedly bleak and coarse is the world which another ex-patriot, Walerian Borowczyk (from Poland), has made in *Goto, Island of Love*. It was filmed in France with a largely French cast. The imaginary police state here is ragged, totally abject, with no alleviation even from the irrepressible sexual impulse. The old instruments of culture have been discarded; music has been replaced by buzz saws and other unsightly contraptions which produce horrible sounds that the prisoners (and all Goto's inhabitants, including its ruler, are prisoners) must profess to enjoy.

This is a vision of a new hell. But once I perceived its pattern—of cruelty, moral and physical emaciation with no more relief in it than what may be provided by the most dismal of brothels—I became inured and indifferent. Everyone knows that the states epitomized in the hateful island contain much more than what the film reveals. Such metaphors do not provoke a protest against their models; they induce a kind of anesthesia.

In an ironic vein, Jean-Luc Godard is the most consistent of directors. His latest film *Le Gai Savoir* (Joyful Wisdom) is literally a decomposition. A young man and woman meet and talk about this and that. What is photographed for the greater part are bits of televised news, posters, ads covered with graffiti irrelevant to the product advertised but pertinent as a sign of the surrounding chaos. Composed as a pictorial and verbal collage, *Le Gai Savoir* adds up to a "poetry" of nothingness. Revolutionaries as well as members of the establishment are reduced to a parity of silliness: Mao, Castro, Stalin, Cohn-Bendit are all flung into the hopper. There is gallows humor in all this, but one cannot speak of anger, malice or even frustration in the context of this renovated dadaism. Acidly gay it may be, joyful never. It must comfort the depleted souls of the indifferent, the lazy and the "aesthetes."

We are now in the realm of the coteries. Its hierophants are bright enough, often talented, sometimes ascetically serious, occasionally witty, and almost always totally juiceless. They are fanciful without being imaginative. Their ideas convey the shadows, not the substance of thought. What remains after the fizz evaporates is self-indulgence in inertia.

Destroy, She Said, directed and written by Marguerite Duras, is an attempt to adumbrate the present impasse in the quest for identity. It is all very cryptic and arcane, and almost wholly without movement. Yet this picture—relieved by one or two filmic quips—pretends to usher in a new dawn, a great change in the future, the harbinger of which, probably, was the Paris student rebellion in 1968. We pray that this may be so, but such films contribute nothing to that change and in fact make confidence in its coming very difficult.

Still, I must confess: several of these boring films held my attention more than did the festival opener, the sexy surefire box office smash *Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice*. But I have not finished: there are other, and I trust much better, festival films to be discussed next week.

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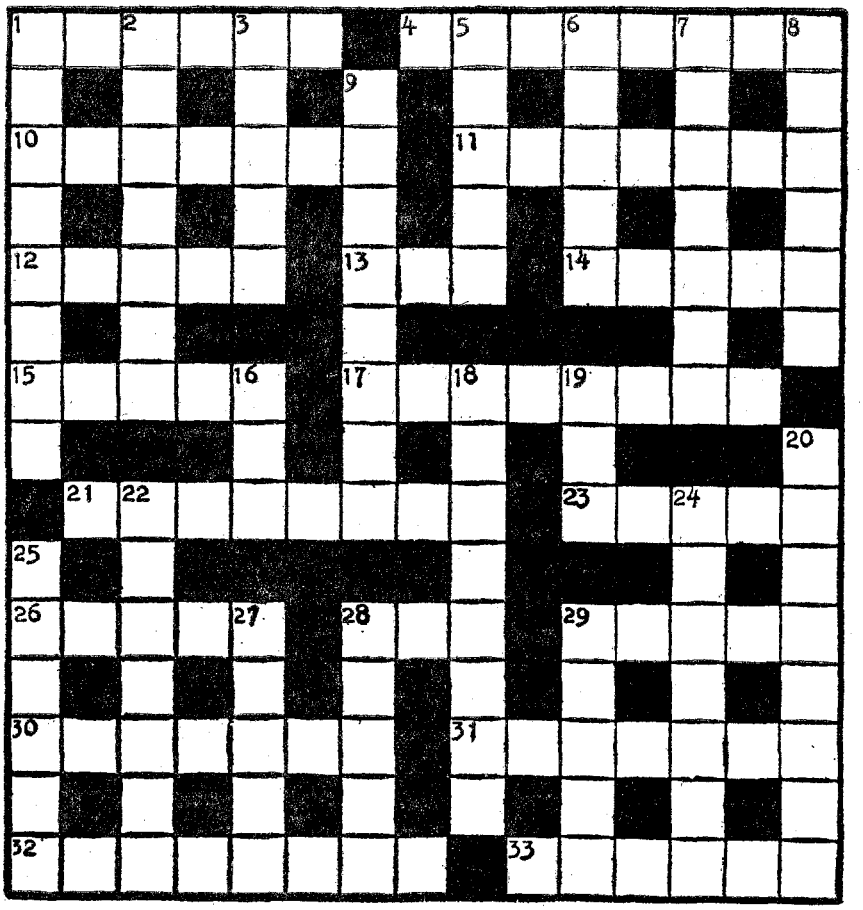
Crossword Puzzle No. 1316

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 19 down
4 and 1 down Looking for the bloodshot type? A welcome returnee is said to be one. (5,3,4,4)
10 See 29 down
11 Not properly brought up if sort of riled about a little weight. (3-4)
12 Allen perhaps piles one article helter-skelter on another. (5)
13 and 14 See 16 down
15 In support of art, perhaps. (5)
17 A relatively modern cult to somehow gain following in the field? (8)
21 Play up? Quite the opposite in the final stage. (4-4)
23 She seems to have a daily changing appearance. (5)
26 The habit of judges with an unruly 27?
28 See 19 down
29 How the loser sometimes cries! (5)
30 How the standout player performs is not altogether how the duffer does! (7)
31 Trailer, perhaps, in color. (7)
32 The sentiment "Erin go bragh!" shows it might be coming on. (8)
33 Gets tough, perhaps. (6)

DOWN

1 See 4 across
2 A low blow of the Tritons might be associated with them. (7)
3 Wrong end to, this man should be feted.
5 Evidently the first person contended with a climber on it. (5)
6 With 1 across, this was a famous Texas greeting. (5)
7 One might get embarrassed in traditional London weather to hold the wood in the burner. (7)
8 They might be added on as passengers.
9 and 25 A rather large holding of air for the Spanish American? (2,6,6)
16, 13 and 14 across Act with ham and eggs, perhaps, of present concern to some. (3,3,5)
18 Avid for what girls used to carry back to front. (5-3)
19, 28 across and 1 across Evidently the time of the gull is full, but sweet. (3-3,6)
20 Loves being in automobiles. (8)
22 One of those 26 in your home, perhaps.
24 City officer 150 years ago. (7)
27 Other than drunk and disorderly version of 26. (5)
28 Act long enough for a senior member.
29 and 10 across The last city of 24 to forbid the original in actual surroundings, as a planned development. (5,7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1315

ACROSS: 1 Matter of course; 9 Rock cod; 10 Retrace; 11 Juleps; 12 Piercing; 14 Dittoed; 15 Thief; 17 Ashen; 19 Ecuador; 21 Paraffin; 23 Cyanic; 25 Noticed; 26 Prevent; 27 Follows through. DOWN: 1 Marijuana; 2 and 21 down Tickled pink; 3 El Capitan; 4 Odds; 5 Carried out; 6 Utter; 7 Swahili; 8 Berg; 13 Rose window; 15 Teddy bear; 16 Fair catch; 18 Horatio; 20 Rondeau; 22 Focal; 24 Spit.

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